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पुराणम्

PURĀṆA

[Half-yearly Bulletin]

VYASA-PURNIMA NUMBER

आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम् ।

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VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

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I thank you very much for your two numbers of the Purāṇam. According to my opinion the Purāṇam is an interesting and important periodical for researches in the Puranic sphere.

W. KIRFEL
Bad Godesberg, Wiedemannstr. 37.
(Germany)

I congratulate the All India Kashiraj Trust on this important enterprise. I have already read most of the articles, which are generally speaking of great interest ...your new periodical will no doubt prove to be an excellent means of promoting the neglected Puranic studies.

PROF. DR. J GONDA
Van Hogendorpstraat 13
Utrecht (Netherlands)

I have received the two first numbers of your Bulletin PURĀṆA and I am really very thankful to you for having sent to me these copies. I find them most interesting and of a very high scientific level and I am sure that they will make feel their influence in the field of Indology. I have already used some of these studies in my lectures at the University. The importance of the Purāṇa studies sometimes is forgotten and I congratulate you to have emphasized the study intimately related to the great myths of the Hindu religion.

DR. JUAN ROGER
Head of the Service on Scientific Documentation, Professor of Indology
Serrano 117- Madrid

महर्षि श्री कृष्णद्वैपायन व्यास

Maharshi Śri Krishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa

From a painting by
Jagannath Ahiwasi

By courtesy of
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महर्षि वेदव्यास

The great sage Vyāsa was of dark complexion, hence his birth name was Kṛishṇa. His mother Satyavatī begat him on an island in the midst of the river Yamunā, thus he was known as Dvaipāyana. He arranged the Vedas and the Purāṇas in the form of separate Saṁhitās which earned for him the title of Vyāsa, 'the Arranger'.

He has been one of the most marvellous personalities of all times. In the annals of authorship his record is unique and his achievement most brilliant. His hermitage was located in the Himālayas on the Alakanandā River, where it flows past the Viśālā Badarī Peak. Daily exerting for three years he completed the Mahābhārata in his holy Āśrama. Deeply immersed in the ancient Vedic Brahma-Vidyā and well-versed in the four-fold knowledge of Dharma-Artha-Kāma-Moksha, being equally at home in the secrets of metaphysics and the practical transactions of the world, he has made the Mahābhārata an epic containing the *summum bonum* of all knowledge.

Shri Jagannatha Ahiwasi has drawn in this painting a rare portrait of Maharshi Veda Vyāsa. The dark colour of the body, the tawny matted locks (कपिल जटा), the gray beard (बभ्रु श्मश्रु) and above all the deep brilliant eyes (दीप्त लोचन) rivetted to extracting at times profound thoughts through the media of obscure words, are some of the physical features of the Rishi depicted in the painting. He has been caught in a moment of tense concentration. God Gaṇapati, his scribe, is depicted in the mood of some discomfiture, asking the sage for respite to probe into the depth of his कूटश्लोकs. The locked sitting posture of the Ṛishi and his long wiry limbs indicate the stable and bouyant health with which he was able to pile up his literary exertions.

The original painting is now the ownership of M/S Tata Industries Prvt. Ltd. Bombay, by whose courtesy it has been reproduced here, with the special permission of Shri Ahiwasiji.

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The Vol. II of 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is a composite number comprising 320 pages. As a matter of fact No. 2 of Vol. I was published on the last Vasanta Pañchamī day and this Volume coming only after about 5 months on the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā day (July 8, 1960) is offering one extra number of the Bulletin. This arrangement was admitted to make the Volume and the year correspond with each other. Thus this Volume is for 1960, and the two numbers of Vol. III will appear in 1961 on the Vasanta Pañchamī Day and the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā Day respectively.

The price of Vol. II which offers a substantial increase in the number of pages is Rs. 12/-. It is contemplated that from Vol. III each Number will consist of 200 pages and the annual subscription for a Volume comprising 400 pages will be Rs. 15 (inland), 25 shillings (foreign)

A particular feature of the present composite number is the coloured, halftone and line-drawing illustrations. It is expected to continue this feature as far as possible.

Indologists and scholars interested in the field of Purāṇic studies have accorded a wide welcome both in India and abroad to the publication of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, which is assuming an increased importance amongst the activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust. The Indian religion in its manifold aspects as believed in and practised by the teeming millions of the country including both great and small, draws its perennial inspiration from the Purāṇas as vivified by the mighty tradition of the Vedas, Śāstras and other literatures of India. It is essential that the Purāṇas should be correctly understood in accordance with the approved canons of the Purāṇa Vidyā as it was developed under a consistent discipline through the ages. This method of Purāṇic interpretation was well understood, so long as the institutions

of traditional expansion (उपबृंहण) and recitation (कथावाचन) were alive. Those methods have now undergone change. The Purāṇic literature like the other branches of Indian literature is now placed on the anvil of scientific research, critical interpretation, comparative assessment and historical perspective, besides the publication of collated editions of the texts with the help of the available manuscript material and testimonia. The coming years will witness an increasing momentum along all these lines of Purāṇic study and text-reconstitution. The Purāṇas are bound to be given an important place and a high priority in the scheme of Indological studies. An exhaustive Concordance of names of places and persons for the Purāṇas, a detailed Subject-Index, exhaustive Dictionary of special Puranic terminology and Critical Editions are the essential tools of research which must be provided in order to create firm objective foundations for future Purāṇic research. It is expected that Indological Institutes now planning afresh their activities will bestow attention on these projects. We also realise that the standard of 'Purāṇa' should grow, for which we earnestly solicit the co-operation of scholars at all places where Indology forms a subject of scientific pursuit.

We record our gratitude to H. H. the Maharaja of Banaras, Chairman of the Kashiraj Trust, whose zealous and intelligent interest in the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is responsible for enabling it to expand its scope.

कृष्णकृतरुद्रस्तोत्रम्

(हरिवंशपुराण, विष्णुपर्व अ० ७४, श्लो० २२-३४)

रुद्रो देवस्त्वं रुदनाद्द्रावणाच्च रोरूयमाणो द्रावणाच्चातिदेवः ।
भक्तं भक्तानां वत्सलं वत्सलानां कीर्त्या युङ्क्ष्वेशाद्य प्रभवाम्यन्तरेण ॥२२॥
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A COMMENTARY ON THE RUDRA-STOTRA

By

V. S. Agrawala

[श्रीहरिवंशपुराणे विष्णुपर्वणि कृष्णकृतमिदं रुद्रस्तोत्रमुपलभ्यते (अ० ७४, श्लोक २२-३४) । अत्र रुद्रो देवः बहुभिर्नामभिः स्तूयते । रुदनात्, रावणात् द्रावणाच्च रुद्रशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः निर्दिष्टा । अग्निर्वै रुद्रः, स एव भूते भूते कुमाररूपेण जायते, तस्यैव जागरणं रोदनमिति कथ्यते । रोदनमेव अशनाया बुभुक्षा वा । अग्निरन्नादः सोमः अन्नं, बाह्यतः सोमाहरणेच्छैव अशनाया रुदनतत्त्वं वा । रुद्रः एव पशुपतिरीश्वरः इत्यपि निगद्यते । भूतस्य जगतः कारणत्वात् रुद्रः अक्षर इति अन्वर्थनाम्नाऽभिहितः । इह अक्षरतत्त्वं किञ्चिद्विस्तरतः व्याख्यायते । त्र्यम्बक इत्यस्य वैदिकशब्दस्य मातृत्रयमुररीकृत्य व्युत्पत्तिरपि अत्र प्रदर्श्यते ।]

The above Rudra Stotra by Krishṇa is inspired by a Vedic spirit and begins by invoking the etymological import of Rudra from the root रुद् 'to weep'. This symbolical meaning (अर्थनिर्वचन) is first recorded in the Śatapatha Br. (VI. 1. 3. 10) :—

यदरोदीत् तस्माद् रुद्रः ।

When Kumāra was born, he wept and, therefore, was named *Rudra* from रुद् 'to weep.' This occurs in the Agni chayana context, where Agni is the new-born babe (कुमार), the Prāṇic principle of the manifestation of life, that in each birth becomes young or renovated (नवो नवो भवति जायमानः). This Agni or Prāṇa is the pulsating principle of Life which manifests in the plant, animal and human kingdoms. He is named Rudra (अग्निर्वै रुद्रः, शतपथ ५।३।१।१०). What is the esoteric symbolism of the word Rudra ? The name points to a mystical meaning by the well known Vedic dictum इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षद्विषः ; 'that which weeps' refers to a child who starts life with weeping. The child weeps because he is afflicted with hunger. Hunger implies the desire for food, or what is called the principle of अशनाया, i. e. assimilation of food from outside. अग्नि is the eater of food and सोम is food ; Agni is

अन्नाद and Soma is अन्न ; अन्न-अन्नाद is a veritable pair that upholds the law of life. Food (अशन) and nourishment (पोषण) go together; and it is Agni that is always the eater of रयि or सोम (अग्निना रयिमश्नवत् पोषमेव दिवे दिवे, Rv. I. 1. 2). Assimilation and elimination make up the first law of Life or Prāṇa, upon which depends its second feature, viz. that of growth (बृंहण). Assimilation in symbolical language is रुदन or weeping, i. e. hunger or the crying for food (अशनाया), of which the perfect demonstration is seen in the new born babe. The Śatapatha Br. makes a clear statement about Agni being Rudra for he cries for food as the means of obtaining immortality and the Devas appease him by offering food. Agni longs for food and the gods bestow upon him the highest immortality through food (अन्न or सोम) by which his terrific form becomes appeased, i.e. रुद्रदेवत्य अग्नि becomes शान्तदेवत्यः. This is the mystical import of the शतरुद्रिय litany of Yajurveda, Ch. XVI.[1] Agni grows amongst creatures for the consumption of every kind of food (जायते एव एतद् यच्चीयते स एव सर्वस्माऽअन्नाय जायते श० ९।१।१।३). Agni as Life has a hundred heads with a hundred mouths all longing for appeasement through food-offering (शतशीर्षरुद्रशमनीयम् , श० ९।१।१।७).

This was the Vedic background of Rudra and his *Rudana*, which is correctly interpreted by Griffith as 'the hundred forms and powers of Rudra representing life and nature', where 'Agni has on completion become Rudra'.

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१. अयातः शतरुद्रियं जुहोति । अत्रैष सर्वोऽग्निः संस्कृतः । स एषोऽत्र रुद्रो देवता । तस्मिन् देवा एतदमृतं रूपमुत्तममदधुः । स एषोऽत्र दीप्यमानोऽतिष्ठद् अन्नमिच्छमानः । तस्माद्देवा अबिभयुर्यद्वै नोऽयं न हिंस्यादिति । तेऽब्रुवन् अन्नमस्मै सम्भराम तेनैनं शमयामेति । तस्मा एतदन्नं समभरन् शान्तदेवत्यं तेनैनमशमयन् (शतपथ ९।१।१।१-२) ।

Here शतरुद्रिय is equated with शान्तदेवत्य or शान्तरुद्रिय ; रुद्र is the 'animal fire', expressing itself as hunger, which is the flare or flame in each individual or creature, referred to as मन्यु in the first mantra (नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे, Yaj. XVI. 1). It is a नमः स्तोत्र to Rudra comprising a string of नमः offerings, where नमः means 'food' (अन्नं नमः, शतपथ ६।३।१।१७) which is the highest kind of 'reverence' offered to the Deity.

The Purāṇas fondly borrowed and repeated this Vedic conception of Rudra, one of the clearest statement being in the Liṅga Purāṇa :

अथैकादश ते रुद्रा रुदन्तोऽभ्यक्रमंस्तथा ॥२३॥
रोदनात् खलु रुद्रत्वं तेषु वै समजायत ।
ये रुद्रास्ते खलु प्राणा ये प्राणास्ते तदात्मकाः ॥२४॥
प्राणाः प्राणवतां ज्ञेयाः सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थिताः ॥२५॥

(लिंग पु० १।२२)

Not only Rudra is derived from रुद्, but रुद्र is identified with प्राण, a truly Vedic metaphysical doctrine, e.g.

प्राणा वै रुद्राः । प्राणा हीदं सर्वं रोदयन्ति ।

(जैमिनीय उप० ब्रा० ४।२।६)

कतमे रुद्रा इति दशेमे पुरुषे प्राणा आत्मैकादशः ।

(शतपथ ११।६।३।७)

Wherever there is a body constituted of the five gross elements (Bhūtas), there inheres within it the Life Principle called Prāṇa, or in its several functioning aspects as Prāṇas. The One Rudra *becomes* many Rudras (रुद्रा रुद्रांशसंभवाः, Liṅga, I. 82. 41). The Harivaṁśa repeats the epithet of रुदन as रोरूयमाण, 'crying day by day, or frequentatively', and also as रावण, i.e. the divine principle of प्राण or रुद्र that makes a ten-headed Asura cry, referring to the Prāṇas within the body (दशेमे पुरुषे प्राणाः) whose riotous aspect is Rāvaṇa.

The etymology of Rudra is also connected with द्रावण, which is a new idea :

ते रुदन्तो द्रवन्तश्च भगवन्तं पितामहम् ।
रोदनाद् द्रावणाच्चैव ततो रुद्रा इति स्मृताः ॥

(हरिवंश ३।१४।३९)

What is implied in this idea of द्रावण, 'taking flight'? This too is a Vedic conception, viz. Agni being frightened of the gods fled in the form of a *Mṛiga* (i. e. animal) and concealed himself. The meaning is quite obvious, viz. that Agni as Prāṇa (Life or Energy) can never be seen in concrete or manifest form unless it incarnates in an animal body. The animal form is material (made of the Five Bhūtas) and Agni comes within the orbit of our experience only on the plane of matter. Agni is visualised not as Prāṇa, but प्राण within the मृग s. It is the same thing as प्राणात्मा and भूतात्मा joined together, Life and Matter integrated in manifestation. This is the principle of *Drāvaṇa* or the flight of Agni as *Mṛiga*; each such *Mṛiga* or creature is pierced by Rudra's dart who is the Great Hunter (मृग-लुब्धक), for which the Mṛigaśirsha star in the sky is poined out as a symbol on the basis of निदान विद्या.

By referring to Rudra as पशुपति, the Vedic invocation of पशूनां पतये नमः and the rich doctrine of Paśu and Pāśa and Paśupati as elaborated by the Pāśupata Śaivas is hinted at in Purāṇic terminology, as explained in my article on Pāśupata Yoga (*Purāṇa*, I, pp. 242-243). From Brahmā, the Creator, down to the plants & trees, all are Paśus :

ब्रह्माद्याः स्थावरान्ताश्च देवदेवस्य धीमतः ।
पशवः परिकीर्त्यन्ते संसारवशवर्तिनः ॥
(लिंग० २।९।११-१२)

ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तं पशून् बद्ध्वा महेश्वरः ।
त्रिभिर्गुणमयैः पाशैः कार्यं कारयति स्वयम् ॥
(लिंग० २।९।२१-२२)

Animals from the Ṛigveda onwards have been classified as tame (ग्राम्य) and wild (आरण्य, Rv. X, 90-8), the former being fit for यज्ञ and the latter being अयज्ञिय or अमेध्य; the former being symbols of Devas and the latter of Asuras (i. e. of dedicated power and riotous unharnessed power respectively).

Vs. 24 repeats the significant epithets, ईश्वर, ईश, referring to शिव as the paramount Lord ईशान, because of which He was known as महेश्वर in his transcendent form.

Vs. 25 distinguishes between भूत and अक्षर, based on the क्षर पुरुष and अक्षर पुरुष doctrine of the Ṛigveda (I, 164-42, ततः क्षरत्यक्षरम्). Bhūta or Matter is called क्षर, as defined in the Gītā (क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि, १५।१६). प्राण or अव्यक्त is called अक्षर (cf. गीता १२।३, ये त्वक्षरमनिर्देश्यमव्यक्तं पर्युपासते), also called कूटस्थ (कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते, गीता १५।१६). The Purāṇas make very frequent references to AKSHARA—

न क्षीयसे न क्षरसि कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ।
तस्मात्त्वमक्षरत्वाच्च अक्षरश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥

(मत्स्य० २४८।३९)

The Muṇḍaka Up. contains an exposition of अक्षर विद्या, also called परावर ब्रह्मविद्या (I. 1-2) and according to it the source of this Universe is Akshara, also identified with Satya, Amṛita, Prāṇa. A significant term for it is सेतु—

यः सेतुरीजानानामक्षरं ब्रह्म यत्परम् ।
अभयं तितीर्षतां पारं नाचिकेतं शकेमहि ॥ (क० १।३।२)

The अक्षर or प्राण is the Bridge connecting the lower क्षर पुरुष with the highest अव्यय पुरुष called पुरुषोत्तम. Kshara is Matter, Akshara is Energy and Avyaya is Consciousness. Akshara is therefore the connecting link between the two. If we conceive of these three as a circle, अव्यय is its centre, अक्षर the diameter, and क्षर its circumference. It is the activity of the Akshara that measures out the circle :

पंच पदानि रुपो अन्वरोहं चतुष्पदीमन्वेमि व्रतेन ।
अक्षरेण प्रतिमिम एतामृतस्य नाभावधि सं पुनामि ॥

(Rv. X, 13-3)

According to Griffith this stanza is most obscure; his translation is—

'Five paces have I risen from Earth :

I follow her who hath four feet with devout observance.

This by the Sacred Syllable have I measured :

I purify in the central place of Order.'

Earth here is the symbol of each material creation (भूपिंड) ; in its pulsating centre is the creative force or Prāṇa measuring out the Five Aksharas through five steps, viz. Brahmā (स्थिति), इन्द्र (गति), विष्णु (आगति) and अग्नि-सोम. This is the अक्षरविद्या, the pulsating rhythm which measures out the threefold manifestation (मन-प्राण-वाक्) of each life-centre against the background of Ṛita. Ṛita is Soma and Akshara is Agni, the latter by virtue of its rhythm of expansion and contraction (समञ्चन-प्रसारण, प्राणापान, श्वास-प्रश्वास) is drawing in matter from outside and creating the material body. This was the ancient क्षराक्षरविद्या—

यदक्षरं पंचविधं समेति युजो युक्ता अभि यत् संवहन्ति ।

(ऐतरेय आ० २।३।३०)

The five constituents of अक्षर are enumerated in the following mantra :

त्वमग्न इन्द्रो वृषभः सतामसि त्वं विष्णुरुरुगायो नमस्यः ।
त्वं ब्रह्मा रयिविद् ब्रह्मणस्पते त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरंध्या ॥

(ऋ० २।१।३)

'O Agni, thou art Indra, thou art Vishṇu of the mighty stride adorable :

Thou Brahmanspati (Soma), thou Brahmā ; thou as Agni bringing in Rayi (रयि, the opposite principle of आग्नेयप्राण) : thou Sustainer (विधर्तः) with thy power dwell in our *Pura* (so that we may become Purusha).'

The invisible or unmanifested centre of Life is essentially the Akshara, the Divine Principle which creates and controls the manifested Bhūtas :

अव्यक्तोऽक्षर इत्युक्तस्तमाहुः परमां गतिम् । (गीता ८।२१) ।

It is rightly said that all creation takes place by virtue of Akshara or the pulsation of Prāṇic rhythm :

तथाक्षरात्संभवतीह विश्वम् (मुंडक १।१।७)।

तथाक्षराद् विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापि यन्ति ।
(मुं० २।१।१)

It is the mighty reality of Akshara or activating Energy that upholds all the material world :

यथा सूच्या पलाशानि संतृण्णानि स्युरेवमेवैतेनाक्षरेणेमे लोकाः संतृण्णाः
(जैमिनीय उप०ब्रा० १।१०।३)

The अक्षर is both the unifying Thread (सूत्रात्मा = the Thread Spirit) and the dynamic controlling spirit called Antaryāmī Atmā. It permeates each and everything in its hundred, thousand and million manifestations and thus is the basic Immortal Principle (अक्षिति) underlying all space :

तदिदम् इमानतिविध्य दशधा क्षरति शतधा सहस्रधाऽयुतधा प्रयुतधा (नियुतधा)ऽर्बुदधा न्यबुर्दधा निखर्वधा पद्मम् अक्षितिर्व्योमान्तः ।

Like the mighty irresistable flood it overflows and overtakes each and everything, the lower and the higher ones, as itself being the Supreme Indestructible Reality – this Akshara is the One Divinity :

यथौघो विष्यन्दमानः परःपरोवरीयान् भवति, एवमेवैतद् अक्षरं परःपरोवरीयो भवति।
(जै० उप० ब्रा० १।१०।५)

In vs. 25 the great Vedic doctrine of अक्षर is invoked by calling Rudra as the Lord of Akshara (अक्षरेश) and the Unmanifest Akshara from whom the Universe emanates in each cosmic aeon.

In vss. 26-27 Rudra is addressed as देवातिदेव, Supreme One God over all the gods and demons, referred to as महोदेव in the Rigveda (IV. 58.3) and महादेव in the Purāṇas. The doctrine of Trika or triple manifestation is the bedrock of

Vedic and Purāṇic metaphysics and in fact of all ancient Indian philosophical thought. The same is frequenlty mentioned in the Vedas and is the permeating spirit of Purāṇic cosmogony. Verse 28 refers to it under the two symbols of Three Earths (भूमित्रय) and Three Mothers (त्र्यम्बक). For the generation of Mind, Life and Matter which constitute the unified Fire of Prāṇa, Three Mothers are essential, as the तिस्रो मातृः of the Ṛigveda :

तिस्रो मातृस्त्रीन् पितॄन् बिभ्रदेक ऊर्ध्वस्तस्थौ नेमवग्लापयन्ति ।
(ऋ० १।१६४।१०)

तिस्रो द्यावो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन् तिस्रो भूमीरुपराः षड्विधानाः
(ऋ० ७।८७।५)

त्रिरन्तरिक्षं··त्री रजांसि··त्रीणि रोचना ।
तिस्रो दिवः पृथिवीस्तिस्रः···त्रिभिर्व्रतैः । (ऋ० ४।५३ ५)

त्रिस्रः पृथिवीरुपरि प्रवा दिवो नाकं रक्षेथे द्युभिरक्तभिर्हितम् ।
(ऋ० १।३४।८)

तिस्रो महीरुपरास्तस्थुरत्या गुहा द्वे निहिते दर्श्यका । (ऋ० ३।५६।२)
षडाहुर्द्यावापृथिवी । (अथर्व० ८।९।१६)

Earth and Heaven (द्यावा पृथिवी) are the combined units of generation, Universal Parents (द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता), who together form a single Pair spoken of as one Prajāpati. There are the Three Worlds (जगत्त्रय), also called पुरत्रय (जगत्त्रयं रुद्र पुरत्रयं हि, Liṅga Purāṇa, I 72.152 ; I. 71.24), the Triple Cities of Gold, Silver and Copper, symbolising the three states of consciousnss, viz the waking state, the dream state and the deep sleep state (जाग्रत-स्वप्न सुषुप्ति). Each of them has its source in a Parental Pair. Śiva as the Lord of Tripura is the supreme controller of those three states of consciousness. He is therefore the son of Three Mothers in his manifest form. Ambaka (अम्बक) also means an 'eye', for each birth is an eye that opens on one of the three worlds (संचोदयितृ चक्षु). The Three Eyes of Rudra are the Sun, Moon and Fire of the Purāṇas, which the Vedas refer to as the Eye of

Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni (चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः). The Eye of Agni is the जाग्रत्, the Eye of Mitra is स्वप्न, and the Eye of Varuṇa is the सुषुप्ति state, which sends its unobstructed vision into those deepest regions called the Dark Descent (कृष्णं नियानं, Rv. I. 164. 47), or the dark interior of Varuṇa-loka, of which the Seer is the Ṛishi Dīrghatamas.

The Purāṇic authors very well understood this complex symbolism and their explicit statements are models of brevity and clarity :

त्रयाणामपि लोकानां गुणानामपि यः प्रभुः ॥ १८
वेदानामपि देवानां ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशामपि ॥
अकारोकारमकाराणां मात्राणामपि वाचकः ॥ १९
तथा सोमस्य सूर्यस्य वह्नेरग्नित्रयस्य च ।
अम्बा उमा महादेवो ह्यम्बकस्तु त्रियम्बकः ॥ २०

(लिंग० २।५४)

Three Lokas, Three Guṇas, Three Vedas, Three Devas, Three Varṇas, Three Mātrās of Praṇava, and Three Fires—all these are the visible manifestations of the Great Mother Goddess Umā and of the Triyambaka Lord Rudra.

Śarva as one of the forms of अष्टमूर्ति रुद्र occurs in the list of the eight names of Kumāra in the Śatapatha Br. (६।३।१।१८), and is regularly mentioned in the Purāṇas as a form of Śiva-Rudra. Here the name is derived from शत्रूणां शासनात्, 'the chastiser of hostile forces', It is said to symbolise the element of Earth पार्थिवं तद्वपुर्ज्ञेयं शर्वतत्त्वं बुभुत्सुभिः (Liṅga Purāṇa, II· 13. 19). Similarly new derivations of ईशान and शंकर are offered (vss. 29-30).

The well known exploit of Śiva in drinking the poison and becoming *nīlakaṇṭha* is explained with some difference, viz. that He charred his throat on account of resisting the might of Indra's thunderbolt. Of the five *chakras* in the human body, the विशुद्धिचक्र in the throat is the centre of Ākāśa, which is the first and foremost of the Pañch-bhutas. The Five Elements represent

the Āsuric aspect of darkness and death, which so long as they are dispersed in the Ākāśa or expanse of space do not harm the owner thereof. If their posion descends to the other lower centres they become fatal. The Asura represents death, darkness, falsehood and sin (मृत्युः तमः अनृतं पाप्मा) and over all of them Śiva has triumphed.

Liṅga and Yoni correspond to Purusha and Prakṛiti, the Male and the Female Principles in the universe :

स्त्रीलिंगमखिलं देवी प्रकृतिर्ममदेहजा ।
पुलिंगं पुरुषो विप्रा ममदेहसमुद्भवः ।।

(लिंग० १।३३। ३४)

In fact they are two forms of one and the same energy and belong to a single Reality without distinction :

उमाशङ्करयोर्भेदो नास्त्येव परमार्थतः ।
द्विधाऽसौ रूपमास्थाय स्थित एव न संशयः ।।

(लिंग० १।८७।७३।१४)

यथा शिवस्तथा देवी यथा देवी तथा शिवः ।
नानयोरन्तरं विद्याच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकयोरिव ।।

(शिव पु० वायवीयसंहिता, उत्तरार्धं ४।९)

Verse 33 refers to यज्ञ and योग as the two manifestations of the Divinity, both receiving the sanction of the Vedas as the means for crossing the ocean of the world. There is no greater mysterious power then that of Rudra. It becomes the Past, Present and Future, and then vanishes into nothingness. The line of ancient gods like Brahmā, and sages like Kapila, and the many Rishis born from them, of all these the root cause and source is the great Lord Rudra (vs. 34).

पुराणमहिमा

पुरा तपश्चचारोग्रममराणां पितामहः ।
आविर्भूतास्ततो वेदाः सषडङ्गपदक्रमाः ॥
ततः पुराणमखिलं सर्वशास्त्रमयं ध्रुवम् ।
नित्यशब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटि प्रविस्तरम् ॥

(स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड, प्रभासक्षेत्र० २।३-४)

भारतव्यपदेशेन ह्याम्नायार्थः प्रदर्शितः ।
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्व्वे पुराणे नात्रसंशय ॥

(विष्णु पुराण)

वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने ।
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्व्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ॥

(नारदीयपुराण २।२४।१७)

वेदवन्निश्चलं मन्ये पुराणं वै द्विजोत्तमाः ।
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्व्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ॥ २।९०

यन्न दृष्टं हि वेदेषु न दृष्टं स्मृतिषु द्विजाः ।
उभयोर्यन्न दृष्टं च तत्पुराणेषु च गीयते ॥ २।९२

(स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड, प्रभासक्षेत्र०)

पुराणश्रवणे बुद्धिर्यस्य पुंसः प्रवर्तते ।
पुरार्जितानि पापानि तस्य नश्यन्त्यसंशयम् ॥ १।१।६१-६२

वेदार्थश्रवणे बुद्धिः पुराणश्रवणे तथा ।
सत्सङ्गेऽपि च यस्यास्ति सोऽपि वन्द्यः सुरोत्तमैः ॥ १।३।६२

सर्ववेदार्थसाराणि पुराणानीति भूपते ॥ १।९।९७

तर्कस्तु वादहेतुः स्यान्नीतिस्त्वैहिकसाधनम् ।
पुराणानि महाबुद्धे इहामुत्र सुखाय हि ॥ १।९।१००

अष्टादश पुराणानि यः शृणोति नरोत्तमः ।
कथयेद्वा विधानेन नेह भूयः स जायते ॥ १।१०९।३९

(नारदीय पुराण)

(रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य)

व्यास-महिमा

व्यासवाक्यजलौघेन कुतर्कतरुहारिणा ।
वेदशैलावतीर्णेन नीरजस्का मही कृता ॥

(मार्क० १।१०)

पितॄणां मानसी कन्या वासवी समपद्यत ।
अपध्याता च पितृभिर्मत्स्ययोनौ बभूव सा ॥

अरणीव हुताशस्य निमित्तं यस्य जन्मनः ।
तस्यां जातो महायोगी व्यासो वेदविदांवरः ॥

तस्मै भगवते कृत्वा नमो व्यासाय वेधसे ।
पुरुषाय पुराणाय भृगुवाक्यप्रवर्तिने ।
मानुषच्छद्मरूपाय विष्णवे प्रभविष्णवे ॥

जातमात्रञ्च यं वेद उपतस्थे ससङ्ग्रहः ।
धर्ममेवपुरस्कृत्य जातूकर्णादवापतम् ॥

मतिं मन्थानमाविध्य येनासौ श्रुतिसागरात् ।
प्रकाशं जनितो लोके महाभारतचन्द्रमाः ॥

वेदद्रुमश्च यं प्राप्य सशाखः समपद्यत ।
भूमिकालगुणान् प्राप्य बहुशाखो यथा द्रुमः ॥

(वायु, पूर्वार्ध १।३४-३९)*

भारतं भानुमानिन्दुर्यदि न स्युरमी त्रयः ।
ततोऽज्ञानतमोऽन्धस्य काऽवस्था जगतो भवेत् ॥
कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुम् ।
को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥

(पद्म ५।१।४ २,४३)

(रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य)

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*वायु० १।४०-४६ (आनन्दाश्रम)

VYĀSA'S ADVICE TO HIS SON ŚUKA

(Devībhāgavata, I. 14)

व्यास उवाच :—

न गृहं बन्धनागारं बन्धने न च कारणम् ॥
मनसा यो विनिर्मुक्तो गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्यते ॥ ५५ ॥

न्यायागतधनः कुर्वन् वेदोक्तं विधिवत्क्रमात् ॥
गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्येत श्राद्धकृत्सत्यवाक्छुचिः ॥ ५६ ॥

ब्रह्मचारी यतिश्चैव वानप्रस्थो व्रतस्थितः ॥
गृहस्थं समुपासन्ते मध्याह्नातिक्रमे सदा ॥ ५७ ॥

श्रद्धया चान्नदानेन वाचा सूनृतया तथा ॥
उपकुर्वन्ति धर्मस्था गृहाश्रमनिवासिनः ॥ ५८ ॥

गृहाश्रमात्परो धर्मो न दृष्टो न च वै श्रुतः ॥
वसिष्ठादिभिराचार्यैर्ज्ञानिभिः समुपाश्रितः ॥ ५९ ॥

किमसाध्यं महाभाग वेदोक्तानि च कुर्वतः ॥
स्वर्गं मोक्षं च सज्जन्य यद्यद्वांछति तद्भवेत् ॥ ६० ॥

आश्रमादाश्रमं गच्छेदिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥
तस्मादग्निं समाधाय कुरु कर्माण्यतन्द्रितः ॥ ६१ ॥

देवान् पितॄन्मनुष्यांश्च सन्तर्प्य विधिवत्सुतः ॥
पुत्रमुत्पाद्य धर्मज्ञ संयोज्य च गृहाश्रमे ॥ ६२ ॥

त्यक्त्वा गृहं वनं गत्वा कर्तासि व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥
वानप्रस्थाश्रमं कृत्वा सन्यासं च ततः परम् ॥ ६३ ॥

इन्द्रियाणि महाभाग मादकानि सुनिश्चितम् ॥
अदारस्य दुरन्तानि पञ्चैव मनसा सह ॥ ६४ ॥

तस्माद्दारान् प्रकुर्वीत तज्जयाय महामते ॥
वार्धके तप आतिष्ठेदिति शास्त्रोदितं वचः ॥ ६५ ॥

विश्वामित्रो महाभाग तपः कृत्वातिदुश्चरम् ॥
त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि निराहारो जितेन्द्रियः ॥ ६६ ॥

मोहितश्च महातेजा वने मेनकया स्थितः ॥
शकुन्तला समुत्पन्ना पुत्री तद्वीर्यजा शुभा ॥ ६७ ॥

दृष्ट्वा दाशसुतां कालीं पिता मम पराशरः ॥
कामबाणार्दितः कन्यां तां जग्राहोडुपे स्थितः ॥ ६८ ॥

ब्रह्माऽपि स्वसुतां दृष्ट्वा पंचबाणप्रपीडितः ॥
धावमानश्च रुद्रेण मूर्छितश्च निवारितः ॥ ६९ ॥

तस्मात्त्वमपि कल्याण कुरु मे वचनं हितम् ॥
कुलजां कन्यकां वृत्वा वेदमार्गं समाश्रय ॥ ७० ॥

(देवीभागवते, प्रथमस्कन्धे चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः)

55. The home is not the place of bondage, nor is it the cause of bondage. Whose mind is free that householder is liberated.

56. Who earns wealth by righteous means and duly performs in their order the ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas, who offers oblations to the manes, and who is truthful and pure—such a householder also attains liberation.

57. The Brahmachārin student, and the forest dwelling recluse observing his vows—both of these approach the householder to beg their food after the mid-day is over.

58. The householders true to their duty give alms and food to all with faith and tender words.

59. No stage higher than that of a householder has been seen or heard. Wise sages like Vasiṣhṭha and others adopted it.

60. What is there impossible of attainment by a householder observing the Vedic injunctions ? Heaven, deliverance, and noble birth, all that he desires he attains.

61. Adepts in Dharma declare the precept of proceeding from one stage of life to another in due order. Therefore you should marry and establish the household fires and perform regular sacrifices.

62. O dear Son, propitiate duly the gods, the manes and the guests, beget progeny, O thou who has learnt the Dharma, and having arranged properly your domestic responsibilities,

63. You may leave the home and entering the forest observe the higher vows, and having completed the period of Vānaprastha then enter the stage of Sannyāsa.

64. O pure One, the senses are definitely full of passion ;—those five and the mind are difficult to control for one who has not married.

65, O wise One, you should therefore marry in order to restrain them. The teaching of the holy texts is that one should take to austerity in old age.

66-67. O virtuous One, it is said that Viśvāmitra overcoming the senses and denying food performed difficult austerities for three thousand years, but even he of great lustre was charmed by Menakā in the forest, and from their union was born the beautiful Śakuntalā.

68. My own sire Parāśara looking at Kālī, the boatman's daughter, was stung with passion, and entered into union with her even while he was in the middle of the river.

69. It is said that even Brahmā, the Prajāpati, became distressed with passion at the sight of his daughter Sarasvatī, and when in pursuit of her he was stupefied, he was restrained by Rudra. [The primal story of the Creator falling in love with his own creation and fecundating it with his seed was a favourite theme in several traditions.]

70. O virtuous One, you should therefore fulfil my wholesome advice, and having selected for a wife a girl of noble family, follow the path of life as instructed by the Vedas.

[Devībhāgavata, I. 14]

—V. S. Agrawala

DID VYĀSA OWE HIS ORIGIN TO BEROSSUS?

By

R. C. HAZARA.

[बुद्धिमतां वरिष्ठो भारतीयः कृष्णद्वैपायनो व्यासः 'वैबिलोनियादेशीयः वैरोसस इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धः ऐतिहासिक एव नान्यः' इति मतं श्रीबुद्धप्रकाशेन विदुषा प्रकटीकृतम्। तस्यैव परीक्षाणमत्र श्री हाजरामहोदयेन कृतं तस्य निस्सारता च प्रदर्शिता, अनेकैः प्रमाणैर्व्यासस्य प्राचीनत्वं भारतीयत्वं च प्रतिपादितम्। तेषु मध्ये गोपथब्राह्मणे व्यासस्य स्पष्टतया नामोल्लेखः असांशयिकं प्रत्नतमं प्रमाणम् ।]

Indian tradition of a very long standing and wide acceptance connects Vyāsa with the compilation of the Vedas and the authorship of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa. The real name of this venerable sage of uncommon wisdom was 'Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana' (literally meaning 'The Black Island-born one'), because, as the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas say, he was born in an island of the river Yamunā and had a dark complexion. His second name 'Vyāsa' was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into four Vedas, and this name has been used much more frequently in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas than his original name 'Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana'

From a comparative study of the Epics and the Purāṇas both textually and materially and from the early dates to which the oldest of the extant Purāṇas may reasonably be assigned, it appears that Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana had come to be known as Vyāsa much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. But the absence of any such record naming Vyāsa as can be assigned to a definite date and our lack of information about the earliest works containing his name, leave us in absolute darkness about the antiquity of the tradition. As a result, scholars have sometimes differed widely with regard to the age and historicity of Vyāsa who has occupied our mind and enjoyed our veneration for such a long time. Of the views of these scholars the most striking seems to be that of Sri Buddha Prakash, who, in his interesting

and informative article entitled 'Vyāsa (A Study in Indo-Babylonian Cultural Contact)'[1], has tried to show that 'Vyāsa' was indebted for his origin, name and principal activities to Berossus, a Babylonian priest and historian of great fame and learning, who lived immediately after Alexander's conquest of Babylonia about 300 B. C. and wrote in Greek, for the new rulers, a comprehensive history of Babylonia by recording in it the earliest traditions about the local people and their religion and culture. The original work of Berossus is now lost, but quotations from it in the works of later writers still exist to give us an idea of the performance of the noted historian of the past.

The above view put forward by Sri Buddha Prakash deserves credit for its novelty and originality, but in spite of the evidences adduced in its support we cannot accept it for reasons stated below.

The *Vishṇudharma*, *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Vahni-purāṇa*, *Vāyu-purāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, etc., which come from early dates[2], are all fully acquainted with the tradition of Vyāsa's original authorship of the Purāṇas, and these works presuppose and often utilise the *Mahābhārata*, which, therefore, pushes back the said tradition to a date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, which, betrays its knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* by frequently alluding to its legends and quoting its verses on a number of occasions, contains the name of 'Śuka Vaiyāsaki' (Śuka, son of Vyāsa); Kātyāyana names 'Vyāsa' in his Vārttika 'vyāsa-varuḍa-nishāda-chaṇḍāla-bimbānāṃ cheti vaktavyam', with which he provides for the formation of the Taddhitānta words 'Vaiyāsaki' etc.; the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* (ii. 5. 27) names 'Vyāsa', 'Vasishṭha' and others in its section on the offering of libations (tarpaṇa) to gods and sages; the *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka* (1. 9. 2.) names 'Vyāsa Pārā-

1. This article was published in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVII, 1951, pp. 32-42.

2. For the probable dates of these works see R. C. Hazara *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 143 and 212; *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, Part 1, 1954, p. 83; Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 13-19.

śarya' ('Vyāsa, son of Parāśara') in the line 'sa hovācha vyāsa pārāśaryaḥ, vidyud-vadham evāhaṃ mṛtyum aichchham iti'; and in giving a list of teachers the *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* (iii. 9.8) names 'Vyasa Pārāśarya' as a pupil of Vishvaksena and preceptor of Jaimini in the following passage :

So'yaṃ prājāpatyo vidhiḥ, tam imaṃ prajāpatir bṛihaspataye provāca bṛihaspatir nāradāya nārado vishvaksenāya vishvakseno vyāsāya pārāśaryāya vyāsaḥ pārāśaryo jaiminaye jaiminiḥ paushpiṇḍyāya ... ... /"

The facts that in dealing with tarpaṇa the *Āśvalāyana-gṛihyasūtra* (iii. 4. 4) is completely silent about Vyāsa[1], although it names Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśaṃpāyana and Paila, who are supposed to be Vyāsa's pupils, that in the same topic the *Baudhāyana-gṛihyasūtra* (iii.9.3) and the *Bhāradvāja-gṛihyasūtra* (3.9) name the sage Dvaipāyana as Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana (and not as Vyāsa), and that the Buddhist Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana-jātaka frequently names this sage as 'Kaṇha-dīpāyana' (Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana) or simply 'Dīpāyana' (Dvaipāyana) but not even once as 'Vyāsa', do not deserve any serious consideration, because the list of teachers (āchāryāḥ) in the said aphorism of the *Āśvalāyana-gṛihyasūtra* is not exhaustive as the words 'ye chānye āchāryās te sarve tṛipyantu' indicate, and the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, which cannot be placed later than the sixth century B.C., names 'Vyāsa' in the following passage :

"atharvaṇāṃ chandramā devataṃ tad eva jyotiḥ/sarvāṇi chhandāṁsyāpaḥ sthānam/śaṃ no devīr abhishṭaya ity evamādiṃ kṛitvātharva-vedam adhīyate/adbhyaḥ sthāvara-jaṅgamo bhūtagrāmaḥ saṃbhavati, tasmāt sarvam āpomayaṃ bhūtaṃ sarvam bhṛigvaṅgiromayam/antaraite trayo vedā bhṛgūnaṅgirasaḥ śritā ity ab iti prakṛitir apām oṃkāreṇa chaitasmād vyāsaḥ purovācha bhṛigv-aṅgirovidā saṃskṛito'nyān vedān adhīyīta nānyatra saṁskṛito bhrigv-aṅgiraso 'dhīyīta/ ... ... /" (*Gopatha brāhmaṇa* i. 1. 29).

So, the name of 'Vyāsa' had been known in India centuries before the birth af Berossus of Babylon.

The legend of the divine Man-Fish (Ea-Han or Oannas) and great flood, described in detail both by Berossus and Vyāsa, and the fact that both these authors wrote on the history and mythology of their own country, must not be taken to prove the indebtendness of the latter to the former. There is much evidence to show that the proto-Indians were familiar with the idea of the horned fish and a particular divinity attached to it;[1] and Berossus himself says 'that the civilization was first established in Sumer by men who came from the east, and that those were half-men and half-fishes. According to Father Heras these must have been the same as the Mīnas of India, whose deity was closely associated with the fish.'[2] So, there is little doubt about the fact that the flood legend migrated from India to Babylonia and other places at a very early period.

It is true that in his *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* (which forms the eighth chapter of his *Prākrita Dvyāśraya-kāvya* alias *Kumārapālacharita*[3] Hemachandra gives two rules, viz. 'vādho ro luk' (viii. 4. 398) and 'abhūtopi kvachit' (viii. 4. 399), which he explains thus:

"apabhraṁśe saṁyogād adho vartamāno repho lug vā bhavati//
jai kevāi pāvīsu piu//[4] pakshe
jai bhaggā pārakkaḍā to sahi majjhu priyeṇa//[5] 398//"

and

"apabhraṁśa kvacid avidyamānopi repho bhavati/
vrāsu mahārisi ēu bhaṇai jai sui-satthu pamāṇu/
māyahā chalaṇa navantāhaṃ divi divi gaṅgā-ṇhāṇu//[6]

1-2. A. P. Karmarkar, *Religions of India*, Vol. I, p. 157.
3. Ed. S. P. Pandit, (second edition revised by P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1936).
4. "yadi kathamapi prāpsyāmi priyam'—(If somehow I meet my lover) *Ibid* Notes, p. 694.
5. "yadi bhagnāḥ parakīyāḥ tat sakhi mama priyeṇa"—If the enemies have been defeated, that, my friend, (must have been done) by my lover.
6. "Vyāsaḥ maharshiḥ etad bhaṇati yadi śruti-śāstraṃ pramāṇam/ mātṛiṇāṃ caraṇau namatāṃ divase divase gaṅgā-snānam// Vyāsa, the great sage, says this: If the Veda and the Śāstra are to be regarded as authoritative, then those who pay homage to the

kvachid iti kim/ vāseṇa vi bhāraha-khambhi baddha//[1] 399//"

Of these two rules (which have been repeated in Lakshmīdhara's *Shaḍ-bhāshā-chandrikā*[1a] of 'r' (र्) forming the second member of a conjunct consonant, but the second has been translated by P. L. Vaidya as follows :

"*repha* is substituted for a member of the conjunct in some cases ; e.g. Vrāsa for Vyāsa."

From the use of the '*kta*'-pratyaya in 'abhūta' in the second rule and from Hemachandra's explanation of the same it is clear that this rule (abhūtopi kvachit) relates not to any case of substitution of 'r' for any member of a conjunct consonant, as P. L. Vaidya says, but definitely to cases of insertion of 'r' immediately after a consonant. So, this rule should be translated as follows :

"In Apabhraṁśa the 'r', though absent, sometimes comes in (as a second member of a conjunct consonant)."

It is evident that by this rule Hemachandra provides for the derivation of the Apabhraṃśa form 'Vrāsa' optionally from its tat-sama form 'Vāsa' derived from the Sanskrit 'Vyāsa'. But this is not a solitary case in which 'r' is inserted in an Apabhraṁśa word. Similar insertion of 'r', though very rare, is also found in the words 'Vrāḍi' (for Sanskrit 'Vyāḍi),[2] 'bhrāsa' (for Sanskrit 'bhāṣya'),[3] 'vrāgaraṇu' and 'vrākrosu' (for Sanskrit 'vyākaraṇam' and 'vyākrośa' respectively),[4] 'prassadi (for Sans-

feet of their mothers get the merit of bathing in the Ganges every day." *Kumārapāla-charita*, Notes, pp. 694-5.

It is probable that the word 'śruti-śāstra' like 'veda-śāstra' in *Manu-smrit* 4. 260, means 'the Vedic scripture'.

1. "vyāsenāpi bhārata stambhe baddham.
"Vyāsa also has said this in the Bhārata books".
The other reading gives 'vyāsenāpi Bhāratam stambhe baddham'. For want of context the meaning of the line is uncertain.'
Kumārapāla-charita, Notes, pp. 394-5.

1a. Ed. K. P Trivedi (Bombay Sanskrit Series LXXI, 1916), p. 267 (Sūtras 3. 3, 5 and 3, 3, 6).

2. See Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākrita-sarvasva* (ed. Bhaṭṭanātha-svāmin, Vizagapatam, 1912), 17. 3.

3. Kramadīśvara's *Saṃkshipta-sāra*, 5. 5.

4. Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākrita-sarvasva*, 17. 3.

krit 'paśyati'),[1] 'bhrāntri' (for Sanskrit 'bhrānti')[2] and so on.[3] So, Śri Buddha Prakash is not right when he says "Evidently 'Vāsa' is derived from the Sanskrit form 'Vyāsa' but it cannot be the tatsama form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu', since there is no rule of universal application by which a 'r' is inserted in the Apabhraṁśa forms of such words. Hemachandra found the form 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' in use in popular speech and he had to make a rule simply to describe this particular irregular form. The tatsama form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' has to be searched elsewhere".[4] As a matter of fact, 'the insertion of -r- as a second member of a consonant group where no such historical relation is traceable to Old Indo-Aryan, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Apabhraṃśa',[5] and *the final u in 'Vrāsu' is a case-termination* (as in 'mohu' 'kālu', 'bhamaru' etc. respectively for Sanskrit 'mohaḥ', 'kālaḥ', bhramaraḥ' etc.) If, for the presence of 'r' and final u 'Vrāsu' is to be derived from 'Berossus', how then are we to account for the forms 'Vrāḍi', 'bhrāsa', 'vrākrosu' 'vrāgaraṇu', 'piu', 'sui-satthu', 'pamāṇu' etc. ? We do not deny the possibility of the spread of the name and fame of Berossus into Gujarat through merchants who carried on maritime commerce between Babylon and the mouth of the Indus ; and that might be the reason for the confusion of Sanskrit Vyāsa with 'Vrāsa' in Apabhraṁśa in Gujarat, but how could 'Vyāsa' be derived from Apabhraṁśa 'Vrāsa' and how could the final 'u' of 'Brāsu' (<Berossus) be changed into 'a' in the Apabraṃśa form ? Neither Hemachandra, Lakshmīdhara or Markaṇḍeya, nor any other Prakrit grammarian provides for these changes. So, the attempt to derive 'Vyāsa' from 'Berossus' is against the Indian tradition[6] and its antiquity is also against the prescription of grammarians.

1-2. Hemachandra's *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana*, 4, 393 and 360.

3. For more instances see G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa* (Poona, 1948) pp. 100-101

4. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 1951, p. 33.

5. G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa*, p. 100.

6. We must not overlook the epic and Purāṇic statements that Vyāsa's name was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into the four Vedas.

SHAṬ-KULĪYAḤ (षट्कुलीयाः)

[शिवमहापुराणे वायवीयसंहितायामेकमाख्यानं यत् षट्कुलीयाभिधाना ऋषयो वभूवुः। किं परं तत्त्वं किमपरमित्यस्मिन्विषये तेषां सुमहान्विवादोऽभूत्। ते विवदमानाः संदेहापनोदनाय ब्रह्माणं जग्मुः। भगवान् ब्रह्मा च तान्प्रति शिवात्मकस्य परतत्त्वस्योपदेशं चकार। पालिवाङ्मयानुसारेण छव्वग्गियाभिधाना भिक्षवः प्रायशो विनयनियमान् अतिक्रमन्तः बुद्धभाषितविषये संदिहाना वभूवुः। त एव संस्कृतवौद्धसाहित्ये षड्वर्गिकाः षड्वार्गिका वेति कथ्यन्ते। तेषामेव पुराणसाहित्ये 'षट्कुलीयाः' इत्याख्या संजाता, किन्त्वत्र तेषाम् ऋषित्वं स्वीकृतम्। षट्कुलीयानां व्याजेन किमभिहितमित्यस्य विचारोऽस्मिन् लेखे कृतः। पुरातनकाले कानि धर्मद्वाराणि, कति तत्वानि, कत्यागमाः कानि च प्रभिन्नानि प्रस्थानानीत्येतद्विषयिका या सामग्री पुराणेषु महाभारते च यत्र तत्र वितता तां संगृह्यात्र विचार उपन्यस्तः। वायुपुराणे एतेषां श्रौतस्मार्त्तविचाराणां शास्त्रकुलमिति नामोल्लेखः कृतः। स एव 'कुल' शब्दः 'षट्कुलीय' इत्यत्र संदृश्यते। विद्वांसोऽस्य विषयस्यातोऽपि भूयसीं मीमांसां कर्तुमर्हन्ति।]

The vocable षट्कुलीय is used in the Śiva Mahāpurāṇa :

सूत उवाच—

श्रृण्वन्तु ऋषयः सर्वे पुराणं वेदसारजम्।
पुरा कालेन महता कल्पेऽतीते पुनः पुनः॥ ६॥
अस्मिन्नुपस्थिते कल्पे प्रवृत्ते सृष्टिकर्मणि।
मुनीनां षट्कुलीनानां ब्रुवतामितरेतरम्॥ ७॥
इदं परमिदं नेति विवादः सुमहानभूत्।
तेऽभिजग्मुर्विधातारं ब्रह्माणं प्रष्टुमव्ययम्॥ ८॥
वाग्भिर्विनयगर्भाभिः सर्वे प्रांजलयोऽब्रुवन्।
त्वं हि सर्वजगद्धाता सर्वकारणकारणम्॥ ९॥
कः पुमान् सर्वतत्त्वेभ्यः पुराणः परतः परः॥ १०॥

(शिवमहापुराण, विद्येश्वरसंहिता, अध्याय ३)

The Sūta for the purpose of introducing the subject of the Mahāpurāṇa invokes the help of the Shaṭkulīna sages as interlocutors who are assailed by doubt and approach Brahmā for

the resolving of their problem. This prologue is repeated in a rather expanded form in the beginning of the last Saṁhitā, viz. the Vāyavīya Saṁhitā of this Purāṇa :

सूत उवाच—

पुरा कालेन महता कल्पेऽतीते पुनः पुनः ।
अस्मिन्नुपस्थिते कल्पे प्रवृत्ते सृष्टिकर्मणि ॥ १ ॥
प्रतिष्ठितायां वार्तायां प्रबुद्धासु प्रजासु च ।
मुनीनां षट्कुलीयानां ब्रुवतामितरेतरम् ॥ २ ॥
इदं परमिदं नेति विवादस्सुमहानभूत् ।
परस्य दुर्निरूपत्वान्न जातस्तत्र निश्चयः ॥ ३ ॥
तेऽभिजग्मुर्विधातारं द्रष्टुं ब्रह्माणमव्ययम् ।
यत्रास्ते भगवान् ब्रह्मा स्तूयमानस्सुरासुरैः ॥ ४ ॥
तं दृष्ट्वा मुनयस्सर्वे प्रसन्नवदनेक्षणाः ।
शिरस्यंजलिमाधाय तुष्टुवुस्सुरपुंगवम् ॥ १७ ॥
एवं ब्रह्मा महाभागैर्महर्षिभिरभिष्टुतः ।
प्राह गंभीरया वाचा मुनीन् प्रह्लादयन्निव ॥ २३ ॥
ऋषयो हे महाभागा महासत्त्वा महौजसः ।
किमर्थं सहितास्सर्वे यूयमत्र समागताः ॥ २४ ॥
तमेवं वादिनं देवं ब्रह्माणं ब्रह्मवित्तमाः ।
वाग्भिर्विनयगर्भाभिस्सर्वे प्रांजलयोऽब्रुवन् ॥ २५ ॥

मुनय ऊचुः—

भगवन्नंधकारेण महता वयमावृताः ।
खिन्ना विवदमानाश्च न पश्यामोऽत्र यत्परम् ॥ २६ ॥
त्वं हि सर्वजगद्धाता सर्वकारणकारणम् ।
त्वया ह्यविदितं नाथ नेह किंचन विद्यते ॥ २७ ॥
कः पुमान् सर्वसत्त्वेभ्यः पुराणः पुरुषः परः ।
विशुद्धः परिपूर्णश्च शाश्वतः परमेश्वरः ॥ २८ ॥

(शिवमहापुराणं, ७ वायवीयसंहिता, अध्याय २)

Verses 6 cd., 7, 8, 9 and 10 ab of the first citation are verbally repeated in the second which is more amplified. Monier-Williams explains the word षट्कुलीय as 'belonging to six families or tribes'. The word is also found in BR. The two forms षट्कुलीन and षट्कुलीय of the Purāṇa seem to be but variant readings, and the latter seems to be the genuine reading.

The षट्कुलीय मुनिs (also called ऋषिs and even महर्षिs) seem to be a Brahmanical version of the Buddhist षड्वर्गिक, षड्वर्गीय, or षड्वार्गिक group of six monks. All the three forms are recorded by Edgerton on the authority of the Divyāvadāna, and also Mahāvyatputti, corresponding to the Chhabbagiya monks of the Pali literature. In Pali they seem to be represented as followers of the Buddha, though very imperfect ones, often transgressing rules of conduct. In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, at least in Divyāvadāna, they seem to be heretics from the Buddhist standpoints' (F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrūd Sanskrit Dictionary* p. 538). In the earlier Pali tradition the छब्बग्गियs form 'a group of six, a set of (sinful) Bhikkhus taken as exemplification of trespassing the rules of the Vinaya,' (Stede, *Pali Dictionary,* p. 106). In Pali their names are प्रस्सजि, पुनभसु, पण्डुक, लोहितक, मेत्तिय, भुम्मजक; in Buddhist Sanskrit the list is नन्द, उपनन्द, पुनर्वसु, छन्द, अश्वक, and उदायी (महाव्युत्पत्ति 9471-76), where नन्द and उपनन्द are also separately mentioned as influencing householders for deviation from the true path.

In the Purāṇic context the षट्कुलीय sages enter into disputation amongst themselves (ब्रुवतामितरेतरम्), and it is said that their discussion about the nature of Ultimate Reality was quite heated and prolonged (इदं परमिदं नेति विवादस्सुमहानभूत्). Their minds are assailed by deep darkness (अंधकारेण महता) and hence they become distressed (खिन्नाः), and discussing (विवदमानाः) they are unable to arrive at an agreement, and thus thwarted in thier effort they approach Brahmā who is omniscient. Brahmā receives them with such honourable epithets as महाभाग, महासत्त्व, महौजस्, and observes their special feature of moving in mutual company (सहिताः सर्वे यूयमत्र समागताः). In the Puranic version they

are depicted as earnest seekers after truth (ब्रह्मवित्तमाः) and there is not the slightest hint of any heretic thought in them. Their problem as to the identity of the Transcendent Purusha (पुराणः पुरुषः परः), the Pure, Eternal, Perfect Lord (विशुद्धः परिपूर्णश्च शाश्वतः परमेश्वरः) is conceived in the aroma of spiritual vibrations and Prajāpati Brahmā responds to their earnest query in the same spirit. The subject was a real one to the Puranic authors of the Golden Age, and is initiated in a lengthy chapter of the Bhāgavata under the caption कति तत्त्वानि (Bhāg. XI. 22. 1–25), which represents a very compact statement of the differing metaphysical viewpoints as to the number, nature, and relative priority (पौर्वापर्य प्रसंख्यान) of the fundamental principles :

इति नाना प्रसंख्यानं तत्त्वानामृषिभिः कृतम् ।
सर्वं न्याय्यं युक्तिमत्त्वाद्विदुषां किमशोभनम् ॥
(भाग० ११।२२।२५)

'Thus the seers have arrived at different reckonings of the fundamental principles. All that is justified, supported as it is by reason, and for the intellectual approach nothing should be condemned.'

The adaptation of the word षट्कुलीय in Brahmanical literature must have been fraught with dignity and invested with a new meaning or background in the context of its own ideas and conditions. They would not tolerate a Buddhist term, for its own sake. The षट्कुलीय sages of the Śiva Purāṇa had many points of controversy amongst themselves, over which they were engaged in long-drawn arguments that tired them out. These controversies arose out of the desire of the different schools of philosophers and religionists to vindicate and insist on their own point of view. Fortunately the Purāṇas and the epic texts afford an insight into the stand of these controversialists. The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to the Six Schools of Philosophic Doctrines ;

ब्राह्मं शैवं वैष्णवं च सौरं शाक्तं तथार्हतम् ।
षड्दर्शनानि चोक्तानि स्वभावनियतानि च ॥
(वायु० १०४।१६)

There were also the different religionists:

योगधर्मा बहुविधाः सांख्या भागवतास्तथा ।
भक्तिमार्गा ज्ञानमार्गा वैराग्यानिलनीरजाः ॥
(वायु० १०४।१४-१५)

The शिवपुराण also records a list of these doctrinaires:

व्याप्तानि कारणैस्तत्त्वैरारब्धत्वादनेकशः ।
अन्तरादुत्थितानीह भुवनानि तु कानिचित् ॥१५॥
पौराणिकानि चान्यानि विज्ञेयानि शिवागमे ।
सांख्ययोगप्रसिद्धानि तत्त्वान्यपि च कानिचित् ॥१६॥
शिवशास्त्रप्रसिद्धानि ततोऽन्यान्यपि कृत्स्नशः ।
कलाभिस्तानि तत्त्वानि व्याप्तान्येव यथातथम् ॥१७॥
(शिवपुराण वायवीयसंहिता, अ० २९)

The causal categories behind the manifest creation are manifold—this is the root of the diversity of beliefs and schools. Some are discussed in the Purāṇas; others in the Śaiva Āgamas; and still others in schools centring round Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Many more are said to form part of the Śiva-Śāstra, by which may be meant the non-Āgamic Śaiva literature of the Pāśupata school or of the Māheśvaras, e.g. the षडध्ववेदन, the knowledge of the Six Adhvans expounded in the Vāyavīya Saṁhitā, ch. 29.

The Agni Purāṇa repeats a similar list:

सांख्ययोगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पंचरात्रकम् ।
कृतान्तपञ्चकं ह्येतद् गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥ (अग्नि० २१९।६१)

These were the five orthodox systems which together assumed the name of कृतान्तपंचक, the Five Doctrines. Although their points of view with respect to the ultimate categories varied, they were reconciled to each other and rolled into a

single concordant creed of traditional orthodox beliefs which made a common cause against the heretic Buddhists and Jainas whom they depicted as deluded into falsity of belief by Māyā-moha. The Kūrma Purāṇa goes so far as to exemplify amongst the deluded doctrines (*Moha-śāstra*) even the Kāpāla, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava, Pāñcharātra, Pāśupata and thousands of other Śāstras that stalked amongst the people (Kūrma, Uttara Bhāga, ch. 38; also ch. 12). The Mahābhārata has recorded a graphic description of these religious schools (Śānti, ch, 342). A certain gentleman, living in the city of Mahāpadma on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, passed on his domestic responsibilities to his son and wanted to devote himself to the honest pursuit of the traditional Dharma as propounded in the Vedas and Śāstras :

ततः स धर्मं वेदोक्तं यथा शास्त्रोक्तमेव च ।
शिष्टाचीर्णं च धर्मं च त्रिविधं चिन्त्य चेतसा ॥

(शान्तिपर्व ३४१।६)

Three strands are here mingled into one for conscientious people who wanted to tread the traditional way ; firstly the Vedic metaphysical ideal centring round Brahman and Moksha (as taught in the Upanishads); secondly there was the way of the Śāstras viz. the Dharmaśāstras like Manu who taught the Pravṛitti Dharma of the four Āśramas with duties defined for each ; and lastly there was the body of traditional moral-social duties and observances which went under the name of शिष्टाचारधर्म (शिष्टाचीर्ण धर्म), the last always constituting the bulk and foundation of a man's religious beliefs and outlook so long as he accepts to live as a normal member of the established social order. It is exalted elsewhere in the Epic and the Purāṇas (cf. Vāyu Purāṇa, 59. 33-51). But the bewildering variety of other Dharmas, each raising aloft its standard, screeching its dogma and proclaiming its flamboyant creed, did not allow men to sit in peace :

समुह्यमानानि निशम्य लोके निर्यात्यमानानि च सात्त्विकानि ।
दृष्ट्वा च धर्मध्वजकेतुमालां प्रकीर्यमाणामुपरि प्रजानाम् ॥

(शान्ति० ३४२।६)

Persons of a *sāttvika* temperament are being pulled by contending doctrines and torn asunder by hostile loyalties, and people are virtually festooned overhead by the spreading strings of false religious banners (धर्मध्वजकेतुमाला). This seems to depict a true picture of the sectarian life in the Kushāṇa-Gupta epoch :

एवं बहुविधैर्लोके धर्मद्वारैरनावृतैः ।
ममापि मतिराविग्ना मेघलेखेव वायुना ॥

(शान्ति० ३४३।१६ Poona)

Multifariously dressed shop-windows of sects and beliefs cause distress to an honest mind, dragging it in different directions, like a forlorn cloud cast to the fury of winds. This depicts the mental distress of the षट् कुलीय sages drowned in the quagmire of controversies. If there are many doors to heaven, the assailing doubt is as to the choice of the particular path meet for entry :

अहमप्यत्र मुह्यामि ममाप्येष मनोरथः ।
न च संनिश्चयं यामि बहुद्वारे त्रिविष्टपे ॥

(शान्ति० ३४२।९)

An enumeration of the so called manifold 'Doors' to heaven is also given, making a critical and intelligent circumspection of the social conditions prevailing in that age. We may examine this Epic list more closely :

(1) केचिन्मोक्षं प्रशंसन्ति—These appear to be the followers of Sāṅkhya-Yoga doctrine who prized Moksha as the highest ideal.

(2) केचिद् यज्ञफलं द्विजाः—These were the followers of the Yajña doctrine, whom Bāṇa mentions under the name of साप्ततान्तव teachers in the hermitage of Divākaramitra (*Harsha-charita*, Uchchhvāsa VIII, p. 236, Nirṇay Sagar edn. fifth, 1925).

(3) वानप्रस्थाश्रमं केचिद्—Those who upheld the Vānaprastha ideal may have been the Vaikhānasa teachers, as explained in the Vāyu (साधनात्तपसोऽरण्ये साधुर्वैखानसः स्मृतः, वायु० ५९।२४).

(4) गार्हस्थ्यं केचिदाश्रिताः—The advocates of the ideal of a householder's life were the Bhāgavatas. They proclaimed its inspiring sanctity and made it the foundation of their philosophical tentes:

गृही समस्तदेवानां पितॄणां च तथार्हणाम् ।
ऋषीणामतिथीनां च कुर्वन् लोकानुपाश्नुते ॥

(मार्कण्डेय पु० ९५।४)

In the words of the Śāntiparvan :

चत्वारो ह्याश्रमा देव सर्वे गार्हस्थ्यमूलकाः ।

(शान्ति० ३२१।२५)

As Kālidāsa has praised it :

कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमन्ते ।

(रघुवंश ५।१०)

The second stage of life is the virtual support of all others and if the scheme of āśramas is disturbed, as done by the Śramaṇas, the whole society becomes disrupted.

In one of the most inspiring passages of the Purāṇa literature, the question as to the superior ideal of Mukti or of Karma and the Grihastha life dedicated to it is raised :

भुक्तिमुक्ती उभे श्रेष्ठे निर्णीते मुनिसत्तमैः ।
भुक्तेर्मुक्तिः श्रेष्ठतमा भुक्त्या मुक्तिं कथं व्रजेत् ।

(ब्रह्मपुराण ८८।३)

This was the problem before Janaka. His teacher Yājñavalkya sends him to Varuṇa for instruction :

वरुण उवाच—

द्विधा तु संस्थिता मुक्तिः कर्मद्वारेऽप्यकर्मणि ।
वेदे च निश्चितो मार्गः कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ॥ १०
सर्वं च कर्मणा बद्धं पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयम् ।
अकर्मणैवाऽऽप्यत इति मुक्तिमार्गो मृषोच्यते ॥ ११
कर्मणा सर्वधान्यानि सेत्स्यन्ति नृपसत्तम ।
तस्मात्सर्वात्मना कर्म कर्तव्यं वैदिकं नृभिः ॥ १२

तेन भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च प्राप्नुवन्तीह मानवाः ।
अकर्मणः कर्म पुण्यं कर्म चाप्याश्रमेषु च ॥ १३
जात्याश्रितं च राजेन्द्र तत्रापि शृणु धर्मवित् ।
आश्रमाणि च चत्वारि कर्मद्वाराणि मानद ॥ १४
चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां च गार्हस्थ्यं पुण्यदं स्मृतम् ।
तस्माद् भुक्तिश्च मुक्तिश्च भवतीति मतिर्मम ॥ १५

(ब्रह्मपु० अ० ८८)

Salvation is preached through action by some and non-action by others. The Vedic injunction is decisive that action is superior to non-action, since the Four Ends of life depend on action. It is a false doctrine to tread the path of salvation by renouncing action. Look, the crops for food in the fields are raised by toilsome labour. *Bhukti* and *Mukti* are the outcome of *Karma*, which springs from the pursuit of the Āśrama scheme of life. The Four Āśramas in turn depend on fulfilment of the holy Gārhasthya.

Some preach that the home is the cause of enchaining a person to the world :

गृह्णाति पुरुषं यस्माद् गृहं तेन प्रकीर्तितम् ,
क्व सुखं बन्धनागारे तेन भीतोऽस्म्यहं पितः ॥

(देवीभाग०, १।१४।५३)

Śukadeva's mind thus assailed is pacified by his father Vyāsa :

न गृहं बन्धनागारं बन्धने न च कारणम् ।
मनसा यो विनिर्मुक्तो गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्यते ॥ ५५
उपकुर्वन्ति धर्मस्था गृहाश्रमनिवासिनः ॥ ५८
गृहाश्रमात्परो धर्मो न दृष्टो न च वै श्रुतः ॥ ५९
आश्रमादाश्रमं गच्छेदिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ ६१
इन्द्रियाणि महाभाग मादकानि सुनिश्चितम् ।
अदारस्य दुरन्तानि पंचैव मनसा सह ॥ ६४

(देवीभागवत अ० १५)

This exaltation of the Gṛihastha ideal was the most powerful weapon in the armoury of the Bhāgavatas to counteract the paralysing effects of the Buddhists who took delight in preaching the miseries (आदीनव) of Gṛihastha :

जनस्य तावद् एवंविधा धर्मदेशना कृता कामेष्वादीनवकथा गृहाश्रमपदस्यादीनवो भाषितस्तथा कामो जुगुप्सितो यथानेकानि प्राणिशतसहस्राणि ऋषीणामन्तिके प्रव्रज्य गृहाश्रमपदान्यपहाय वनं संश्रिताः ।

(Divyāvadānā, Cowell Neil edn, p. 224).

The triumph of the Bhāgavatas was a hard won battle. The conception of their deity as चतुर्व्यूह was raised on the firm bedrock of Gṛihastha relationships.

(5) राजधर्माश्रयं केचित्—This is a reference to the Smṛiti and Arthaśāstra doctrinaires who taught that polity (राजधर्म) holds the key to social prosperity. The path shown by Manu descends through a succession of noble and strong kings whose political dispensation makes the people virtuous and propitiated :

रेखामात्रमपिक्षुण्णादामनोर्वर्त्मनः परम् ।
न व्यतीयुः प्रजास्तस्य नियन्तुर्नेमिवृत्तयः ॥

(Raghuvaṁśa, 1. 17)

In the list of religionists as given by Bāṇa these correspond to श्रुताभिजनशीलशालिनो मूर्धाभिषिक्ताश्चामात्या राजानः (*Harshacharita*, loc. cit. p. 173)

(6) केचिदात्मफलाश्रयम्—Some concentrated on the self as the aim of all activity. Bāṇa offers a commentary on these, enabling us to identify them with the Maskarins as they flourished in the Gupta age :

यथावदधिगतात्मतत्त्वाश्च संस्तुता मस्करिणः ।

(*Harshacharita, loc. cit.*).

The Maskarin mendicants were once distinguished for their tenet of अकर्म, which they now developed in an exclusive and self-centred doctrine of spiritual culture (आत्मतत्त्व).

(7) गुरुचर्याश्रयं केचित्—This is a reference to the Pāśupata teachers who formed one of the most powerful sectaries during the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods and have left an indelible stamp on Puranic literature and religious culture. They had evolved elaborate metaphysics as well as an intricate *Sādhanā*, but the unifying thread of their manifold teachings was the reverential worship to the Gurus or Śaivāchāryas who traced their lineage from Lakuliśa, the founder-teacher of the sect, coming down through Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kārūshya :

सहिष्णुः सोमशर्मा च लकुलीशो जगद्गुरुः ॥२४॥
कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च ।
शिष्यास्त्वेते महात्मानः सर्वावर्तेषु योगिनाम् ॥५१॥
एते पाशुपताः सिद्धा भस्मोद्धूलित विग्रहाः ॥५२॥
शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्चैतेषां शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥५३॥
(लिंगपुराण, अ० ७)

Indeed the Pāśupata authors wrought a miracle with their गुरुचर्या or गुरुशिष्य doctrine, developing the theory of 28 different Vyāsas in 28 Dvāparas, each having four chief disciples on the model of Lakulī and his pupils, who come only at the end of the succession. This was evolving a विद्यावंश on the pattern of the ancient Upanishadic lineage of teachers and pupils. All the great teachers of antiquity, like Vasishṭha, Vāmadeva, Kapila, Āsuri, Jaigīshavya, Pañchaśikha, Bāshkala, Āruṇi, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Aṅgiras, were drawn into the evolving vortex of the Yogāchārya incarnations and their pupils (योगावतारs and शिष्यसंतति) as revered by the Pāśupatas. A full account of this remarkable phenomenon of गुरुचर्या may be read in the Liṅga Purāṇa, Pūrvabhāga, chs. 7 and 24, and its genesis can be grasped only in the light of the above sūtra supplied by the Sāntiparvan, viz. गुरुचर्याश्रयं केचित्. The names of the twenty-eight Vyāsas amplified in the account of the Liṅga Purāṇa are traceable to the Vāyu Purāṇa (ch. 23. 98-224, also, 103. 58-66). The typically Buddhist term *parivarta* is used in the Liṅga Purāṇa (I. 24. 35, 43, 55, 59 etc.) to denote that in the revolving wheel of time the

different seers typified as so many Vyāsas represent stages in the development of knowledge through the ages, which was verily an exalted and truthful conception.

(8) केचिद् वाक्यं यमाश्रयम्—This seems to have been the original and significant reading, although indicated by a wavy line. It refers to the Ātmavāda doctrine enunciated by Yama to Nachiketas in the Kaṭha Upanishad, and represented generally the Vedānta doctrine of the Upanishads, the word *Vākya* having the special connotation of an Upanishadic statement or *Mahāvākya*. In Kālidāsa's verse वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी, Vedānta signified the Upanishads, which represented the Brahmavāda doctrine prior to its development in Śaṅkara's new thesis. In the period of renaissance, वेद, वेदारण्यक, त्रयी विद्या, उपनिषद्—all stood for one and the same philosophical school, the traditional Brahmavāda metaphysics of which the Upanishads were the best sources. The Purāṇas make frequent reference to this school :

सांख्यं योगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पंचरात्रकम् ।
कृतान्तपंचकं ह्येतद् गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥

(अग्नि० २१९।६१)

सांख्ययोगः पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
कृतान्तपंचकं ह्येतच्छास्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥

(विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ३।२२।३३-३४)

The शान्तिपर्व repeats these names :

सांख्यं योगं पंचरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मर्षे लोकेषु प्रचरन्ति ह ॥

(शान्ति० ३३७।१)

सांख्यं योगं पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥

(शान्ति० ३३७।५९)

The अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता, a unique पंचरात्र text of the Gupta age, gives an elaborate discussion on the literary sources of the

various philosophical doctrines (ch. 12 on शब्दात्मक प्रमाणव्यूह, and ch. 13 on प्रमाणार्थ निरूपण), and has the following significant statement :

त्रयी सांख्यं तथा योगशास्त्रं पाशुपतं तथा ।
सात्त्वतं चेति तद्रूपं श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं प्रभो ॥
निष्ठा त्वेकैव शास्त्राणामेतेषां पंचवर्त्मनाम् ।
शास्त्रं सुदर्शनं नाम तदर्थो विष्णुरव्ययः ॥

(१२।५४)

It is a virtual repetition of what the Śāntiparvan states as परस्परांगानि and एकनिष्ठानि ज्ञानानि, i.e. the five orthodox schools which pinned their faith in an identical Supreme Principle and were knit together in their endeavour for religious revival in the Golden Age. It was admitted that the सात्त्वत शासन, the पाशुपत धर्म followed by the severe disciplinarians (उग्रव्रतैर्नरैः शश्वद्ब्रह्मप्रीत्यै स साध्यते, १३।२४), the सांख्य ज्ञान, the त्र्यन्त ब्रह्मविज्ञान and the योग doctrine (ch. 13.21-30) were different aspects of one and the same Dharma based on the greatness of Brahman. The Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā adds two more names to the list, viz. the discipline of दण्डनीति वार्ता, and the four उपवेद्s including शिल्प, and संगीत which concentrated on the two major objectives of life called Artha and Kāma. This was evidently the same school as mentioned under राजधर्माश्रयं केचित् of the Śāntiparvam list. The other school in the Saṃhitā is that of the इतिहास-पुराण, which is given the rank of an उपवेद and characterised by its lending a helping hand to each one of the above schools :

इतिहासपुराणाख्य उपवेदो हि यः स्मृतः ।
सहायभावं शास्त्राणां तत्त्वज्ञाने व्रजत्यसौ ॥

(अहि० सं० १३।३८-३९)

There could hardly be a more correct and factual enunciation of the position and purpose of the Itihāsa–Purāṇa literature as it was recast in the mould of the new idealism of the Golden period.

(9) मातरं पितरं केचिद्—Some advocated the pious duty of devotion to parents, an obvious reference to the पंचरात्रिक भागवतs, who, as stated above, insisted on the sanctity of the Gṛihastha life and paid high encomium to filial piety. The story of Dharma-Vyādha discoursing to an ascetic Brāhmāṇa on the merits of devotion to parents is illustrative of the ideals of this school, who regarded it as piety made concrete in life (प्रत्यक्ष धर्म) :

पिता माता च भगवन्नेतौ मे दैवतं परम् ।
यद्दैवतेभ्यः कर्तव्यं तदेताभ्यां करोम्यहम् ॥
(आरण्यक २०४।१७) ।

He rebukes the Brāhmaṇa for having abandoned his parents to pursue a course of Vedic studies :

त्वया विनिकृता माता पिता च द्विजसत्तम ।
अनिसृष्टोऽसि निष्क्रान्तो गृहात्ताभ्यामनिन्दित ॥
वेदोच्चारणकार्यार्थमयुक्तं तत्त्वया कृतम् ॥ ७ ॥
तव शोकेन वृद्धौ तावन्धौ जातौ तपस्विनौ ।
तौ प्रसादयितुं गच्छ मा त्वा धर्मोऽत्यगान्महान् ॥ ८ ॥
(आरण्य क० अ० २०५)

The castigation was aimed at those Buddhist monks who in their misplaced zeal for monastic life ignored the primary duty towards their family.

(10) अहिंसया परे स्वर्गम्— There is a school inculcating heaven through the doctrine of Ahiṁsā. These were obviously the Baudha-Jaina religionists, but the Bhāgavatas took the wind out of their sail by paying homage to the practice of Ahiṁsā, although sticking to a feeble and somewhat confused defence of the so-called *hiṁsā* of Vedic injunction. This was countered by a new kind of yajña based on *ahiṁsā*, and sponsored by the Āgamas :

महर्षयस्तु तान् दृष्ट्वा दीनान् पशुगणान् स्थितान् ।
पप्रच्छुरिन्द्रं संभूय कोऽयं यज्ञविधिस्तव ॥९७

अधर्मो बलवानेष हिंसाधर्मेप्सया तव।
नेष्टः पशुवधस्त्वेष तव यज्ञे सुरोत्तम ॥९८
अधर्मो धर्मघाताय प्रारब्धः पशुभिस्त्वया।
नायं धर्मो ह्यधर्मोऽयं न हिंसा धर्म उच्यते ॥९९
आगमेन भवान् यज्ञं करोतु यदिहेच्छसि।
विधिदृष्टेन यज्ञेन धर्मम‌व्ययहेतुना।
यज्ञबीजैः सुरश्रेष्ठ येषु हिंसा न विद्यते ॥१००

(वायु० अ० ५७)

The story of Vasu Uparichara is cited as an example of eschewing violence from the yajñas and is repeated in the Śāntiparvan and several other Purāṇas.

(11) सत्येन च तथा परे— We know of the dialogue in the Chhāndogya Upanishad between Sanatkumāra and Nārada, in which the former expounds the doctrine of Brahman as Satyam (VIII. 3. 4). Through Nārada the tradition was handed down amongst the Vaishṇavas, of whom the Vaikhānasa sectaries worshipped Vishṇu and his four associates under the name of Pañcha-Vīra or *Satya-Pañchaka*.

(12) आहवेऽभिमुखाः केचिन्निहताः स्विद्दिवंगताः— These were the adherents of the militarist school for whom death in the brunt of battle was an honourable means of attaining deliverance. The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to them as the Kshattriya advocates of *Ārambha-yajña* (Vāyu. 57. 50), where *Ārambha* is a technical term meaning military expedition or war (cf. Sabhāparvan, 14.5, आरम्भे पारमेष्ठ्यं तु न प्राप्यमिति मे मतम्; also Māgha 2.94, अयथाबलमारम्भो निदानं क्षयसम्पदः).

(13) केचिदुञ्छव्रतैः सिद्धाः स्वर्गमार्ग समाश्रिताः—These are called Siddhas who led the life of a recluse and insisted on an abstemious regimen obtained by gleaning corn (उञ्छव्रत). The reference seems to be to the religious order of the Vratins and Mahāvratins whose main plank of sādhanā was a planned course of fasting and regulated diet. Here in the Śāntiparvan, reference is made

to a siddha following the vow of gleaning corn (उञ्छवृत्तिव्रते सिद्धः, 351.1) and to his feeding by an arethmetically calculated regimen of diet, aiming not so much at eating as at food denial (यमनियम समाहितो वनान्तं परिगणितोञ्छ शिलाशनः प्रविष्टः, 353.9). The followers of उञ्छवृत्ति are specially designated an अनाकाङ्क्षी (Śāntiparvan 353.8), which corresponds to निरारम्भ of the Matsya Purāṇa व्रतिनश्च निरारम्भाः, Matsya 180.72). The Purāṇas contain much material about the vows or *vratas* followed by the Vratins. They seem to have been a branch of the Pāśupata Śaivas. From the Kādambarī we know that the Vratins besmeared their bodies with white ashes (व्रतिनमिव भस्मसित पुण्ड्रकांति मुखम् Kād. p. 79) and maintained the fires (व्रतिनामग्निधारणम्, Kād. p. 55, Vaidy edn.)

(14) केचिदध्ययने युक्ता वेदव्रतपराः शुभा :—This reference to students of the Veda who adopted it as the vow of their life implies the Naishṭhika Brahmachārins, known as Varṇins who preferred permanent residence with their teacher (केचित्तत्रैव तीर्थेषुतस्थुः, *Harsha*, p. 172). The Varṇins are mentioned amongst sectaries in the hermitage of Divākaramitra (*Harsha*, p. 236) and female ascetics of Varṇin denomination are spoken of as discoursing to Kādambarī in her palace (जटा जिनवल्कलाषाढ धारिणीभिः वर्णिचिह्नाभिस्तापसीभिः, Kād. p. 208, Vaidya edn).

(15) आर्जवेनापरे युक्ता निहतानार्जवैर्जनैः—What sectaries were intended as following the rule of आर्जव is difficult to say; but according to the Śāntiparvan 215-34, 215-6 etc. it were the adherents of the Svabhāvavāda materialism that were specially devoted to the rule of आर्जव, and were therefore known as समदर्शन (215-1).

The above is a valuable record of the different religious schools (बहुविध धर्मद्वार) which must have supplied the background to the षट्कुलीय enumeration in the Gupta period We need not lay stress on any fixed nuuber, since they were variously reckoned, and factually this number was indefinite. In the story of Janaka and Pañchaśikha, there were 'one hundred' different sectaries whom he entertained in his palace

as he was in quest of the true Āgama, and finally coming under the influence of the Sāṅkhya doctrine as preached by Kāpileya Pañchaśikha, he freed himself from the bond of those dogmas :

तस्य स्म शतमाचार्या वसन्ति सततं गृहे ।
दर्शयन्तः पृथग्धर्मान् नानापाषण्डवादिनः ॥ ४
जनकस्त्वभिसंरक्तः कापिलेयानुदर्शनात् ।
उत्सृज्य शतमाचार्यान् पृष्ठतोऽनुजगाम तम् ॥ १८
(शान्ति० अ० २११, Poona edn.)

An informative record of the various philosophies is found in the Liṅga Purāṇa, Uttarārdha, chs. 15-16, where in the style of केचित्···केचित् we meet with the doctrine of सदसद्वाद (for वेद or त्रयीविद्या), क्षराक्षरवाद (Upanishads), समष्टि-व्यष्टिवाद (ascribed to the योग शास्त्रज्ञ,), क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञवाद (ascribed to पंचविंशक सांख्य-पाशुपत), परापर ब्रह्म (prabably वैष्णव), विद्याविद्यावाद (probably Vedantins of the Upanishads), व्यक्ताव्यक्तवाद (ascribed to the षडविंशकसांख्य & the पाशुपतs of the same denomination).

Kālidāsa refers to a plethora of Āgamas but views them with an eye of synthesis :

बहुधाप्यगमैर्भिन्नाः पन्थानः सिद्धिहेतवः ।
त्वय्येव निपतन्त्योघा जाह्नवीया इवार्णवे ॥
(रघुवंश १०।२६)

These warring Āgamas exercised their pull on unwary individuals driving them into their fold as the *mahouts* do to the newly trapped elephants :

आगमैरपकृष्यन्ते हस्तिपैर्हस्तिनो यथा ।
(शान्ति २११।४४)

The raging controversies backed by dogmatic doctrinarians find a vivid mention in the Vāyu Purāṇa :

द्वैधमुत्पद्यते चैव युगे तस्मिञ्श्रुतौ स्मृतौ ॥६॥
द्वैधाच्छ्रुतेः स्मृतेश्चैव निश्चयो नाधिगम्यते ।

अनिश्चयाधिगमनाद्धर्मतत्त्वं न विद्यते ॥
धर्मतत्त्वे तु भिन्नानां मतिभेदो भवेन्नृणाम् ॥७॥
परस्परविभिन्नैस्तैर्दृष्टीनां विभ्रमेण च ।
अयं धर्मो ह्ययं नेति निश्चयो नाभिगम्यते ॥८॥
कारणानां च वैकल्यात् कारणस्याप्यनिश्चयात् ।
मतिभेदे च तेषां वै दृष्टीनां विभ्रमो भवेत् ॥९॥
ततो दृष्टिविभिन्नैस्तैः कृतं शास्त्रकुलं त्विदम् ॥१०॥

Here Śruti stands for the basic or primary texts of each religion and Smṛiti for the secondary and commentarial literature that was coming into existence through the individual efforts of the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhist and the Jainas. Each wanted to adjust his Smṛiti in accordance with the primary Śruti or Āgama (cf. Raghuvaṁśa 2.2, श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्). The differences, however, came into relief and even the followers of one and the same camp became divided, what to say of the rift between controversialists of the different religions. People became divided about the essence of Dharma (धर्मतत्त्व), and this gave rise to diverse points of view (विभिन्न दृष्टि, मतिभेद, the words दृष्टि and मति were both of ancient usage for 'philosophical approach.') The cleavage was based on the different conceptions about the ultimate cause or categories. The searching voice of every one was about the number and nature of the final reality or primal cause. The Sāṅkhyas, for example, evolved subtle distinctions about the Tattvas being 24, 25, or 26 :

सांख्ययोगाश्च तत्त्वज्ञा यथाश्रुतिनिदर्शनात ॥६२॥
षड्विंशः पञ्चविंशं च चतुर्विंशं च पश्यति ।
न तु पश्यति पश्यंस्तु यश्चैनमनुपश्यति ॥७०॥
पञ्चविंशोऽभिमन्येत नान्योऽस्ति परमो मम ।
न चतुर्विंशकोऽग्राह्यो मनुजैर्ज्ञानदर्शिभिः ॥७१॥ (शान्ति० ३०६)

The Pāśupata teachers adopting the Sāṅkhya metaphysics were putting their house in order and adjusting the Śaiva tenets in accordance with the triple categories of 24, 25, 26 :

इह षड्विंशको ध्येयो ध्याता वै पञ्चविंशकः ।
चतुर्विंशकमव्यक्तं महदाद्यास्तु सप्त च ॥ (लिंग पुराण १।२८।७)

24 were the categories of matter, 25th became the Jīva and then the 26th was Śiva, the Supreme Principle :

परमात्मा शिवादन्यो नास्तीति कवयो विदुः ।
शिवजातानि तत्त्वानि पञ्चविंशन्मनीषिभिः ॥२६॥
उक्तानि न तदन्यानि सलिलादूर्म्मिवृन्दवत् ।
पञ्चविंशत्पदार्थेभ्यः शिवतत्त्वं परं विदुः ॥२७॥
(लिंग पुराण २।१६)

These are but solitary instances. As a matter of fact doctrinal controversies and defferences during the period from circa first century to seventh century A. D. knew no bounds. Subtle brains studied, explained, argued, raised doubts, resolved them, urged objections, pondered over controversies and listened to the exposition of their own doctrines, as Bāṇa has graphicully put it about the multitude of teachers in the hermitage of Divākaramitra (अभ्यस्यद्भिः, व्याचक्षाणैः, विवदमानैः, संशयानैः, निश्चिन्वद्भिः, प्रत्युच्चरद्भिः, अभियुक्तैः, चिन्तयद्भिः स्वान् स्वान् सिद्धान्तान् शृण्वद्भिः).

This created an assemblage of sectarian and doctrinal differences. We are indebted to the author of the Vāyu Purāṇa for rescuing the appropriate term of contemporary usage for this warring state of scriptures :

ततो दृष्टिविभिन्नैस्तैः कृतं शास्त्रकुलं त्विदम् ॥१०॥
सामान्यविपरीतार्थैः कृतं शास्त्रकुलं त्विदम् ॥१६॥
(वायु० अ० ५८)

The growth of philosophers and philosophical literature brought into existence a शास्त्रकुल, i.e. a community of the differing branches of knowledge represented by individual treatises and scriptural texts. What their exact number was is immaterial. It could not be precisely reckoned even then, and expressed by an indefinite number, such as 'a hundred teachers.' This concourse of creeds went by the common appellation of षट्कुलीयाः,

all marked by the same approach of critical and burning reasoning :

इदं परमिदं नेति विवादः सुमहानभूत् ।

So far as the Brahmanical teachers were concerned they arrived at some kind of unity in diversity by selecting the names of five major schools viz. वेद, पांचरात्र, पाशुपत, सांख्य and योग under the common designation of कृतान्तपञ्चक, who were knit together (एकनिष्ठानि, परस्परांगानि) so far as their efforts to combat the heretical आर्हत controversialists were concerned. The Vāyu Purāṇa actually mentions the आर्हतs in its more rationalised list of the Six Schools of Philosophers, the other five being ब्राह्म (Vedists), शैव (=पाशुपत, माहेश्वर, महाव्रतिन्), वैष्णव (=पांचरात्र, भागवत, वैखानस, एकान्तिन्), सौर and शाक्त, divided into manifold paths of भक्ति and ज्ञान (Vāyu. 104. 14-16).

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पुराणचयनम्

अन्तःकरणे भगवद्दर्शनम्

(१) देहस्थं पश्य शंभुं भ्रमसि किमु परे शास्त्रजालेऽन्धकारे ।
(लिंग० २।९।५५)

(२) अपश्यद्भिर्जगत्यत्र दृश्यते हृदि संस्थितः ।
(मत्स्य० २४४।१७)

(३) चित्ते ब्रह्मकला नाम शक्तिः सर्वशरीरिणाम् ।
(देवीभाग० ७।३०।८३, मत्स्य १३।५३)

(४) वेदार्थेन त्वां विवृण्वन्ति बुद्ध्या हृत्पद्मान्तः संनिविष्टं पुराणम् ।
(पद्मपु० सृष्टिखंड ४०।१३)

(५) हृत्पुण्डरीकसुषिरे योगिनां संस्थितः सदा ।
वदन्ति सूरयः सन्तं परं ब्रह्म स्वरूपिणम् ॥
(लिंग० १।७१।१०४)

(६) हृद्याकाशे य एतस्मिन् सर्वस्मिन्नन्तरे परः ।
आत्मा एकश्च चरति तमुपासीत मां प्रभुम् ॥
अजरं तमनन्तं च अशोकममृतं ध्रुवम् ॥ (लिंग० १।८६।८५-८६)

पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यम्

बदरीनाथ शुक्ल

[In this article the learned author demonstrates in the traditional dialectical way that the main theme of Purāṇa literature relates to the metaphysical doctrine of cosmic creation. Although the contents of the Purāṇs are generally spoken of as five-fold, and also as ten-fold, yet in the ultimate analysis they can all be resolved into the one supreme principle, namely Brahman or Hari as the ultimate cause of the creation and dissolution of the world.]

श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये पुराणानां दशविधं प्रतिपाद्य-मुदीरितं यथा—

> सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च ।
> वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ।।
>
> (भा० १२।७।९)

देवीभागवते प्रथमस्कन्धस्य द्वितीयाध्याये पुराणानां पञ्चविधं प्रतिपाद्यमुक्तं यथा—

> सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
> वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।।
>
> (दे० भा० १।२।१८)

अत्र विसर्गस्य सर्गशब्देन, अन्तरस्य मन्वन्तरशब्देन, वृत्तिरक्षासंस्थाहेत्व-पाश्रयाणां च प्रतिसर्गशब्देन सम्भवद्विवक्षतयाऽस्य वचनस्य पूर्ववचनाद् विरोधो नाशङ्कनीयः ।

अत्रेदमवधेयम्—पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यं यद्यपि दशविधं पञ्चविधं वा तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादितम्, परन्तेषां प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यं तु जगतस्तन्मूलभूतं तत्त्वमस्ति, यत्

"पुरा अनिति यत् तत्पुराणम्" इति पुराणशब्दव्युत्पत्तेरनुसारेण समग्रस्य जगत्प्रपञ्चस्य प्रादुर्भावात्पूर्वमपि विद्यते, यत एव च सर्वमिदं जगत् प्रवर्तते। इदमेव तत्त्वम् ऋग्वेदस्य नासदीयेन सूक्तेनेत्थमुपवर्ण्यते, तथाहि—

नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं
नासीद् रजो नो व्योमा परो यत्।
किमावरीवः ? कुह कस्य शर्मन् ?
अम्भः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् ॥१॥
न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि
न राऽया अह्न आसीत् प्रकेतः।
आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं
तस्माद्धान्यन्न परः किंचनास ॥२॥
(ऋ० वे० १०।१२९)

छान्दोग्यश्रुतिरपि

"सदेव सोम्य इदमग्र आसीद् एकमेवाद्वितीयम्" इत्यादिशब्दैरिदमेव तत्त्वं निर्दिशति।

तदस्य पुराणतत्त्वस्य प्रतिपादनादेव तत्प्रतिपादकं वाङ्मयं पुराणशब्देन व्यपदिश्यते। तत्र सर्गादीनां वर्णनं तु नितरां निर्धर्मकतया इदमित्थम्भावेन स्पष्टं निरूपणानर्हस्य तस्य तत्त्वस्य प्रतिपादनाय तटस्थलक्षणोपस्थापनमात्रफलकम्। तत्र यथोपनिषदः

"यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति, यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति" (तै० ३।१) इत्यादिवचनैस्तटस्थलक्षणमुखेन जगतो मूलतत्त्वं वर्णयन्ति। यथा वा "जन्माद्यस्य यतः" (ब्र० सू० १ अ०, १ पा०, २ सू०) इत्येतद्ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्ये भगवान् शङ्कराचार्यः—

"अस्य जगतो नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतस्य अनेककर्तृभोक्तृसंयुक्तस्य प्रतिनियतदेशकालनिमित्तक्रियाफलाश्रयस्य मनसाऽप्यचिन्त्यरचनारूपस्य जन्मस्थितिभङ्गं यतः सर्वज्ञात् सर्वशक्तेः कारणाद् भवति तद् ब्रह्म" इत्येवं ब्रुवाणस्तटस्थ-

लक्षणेनैव जगतो मूलकारणं निरूपयति, तथैव पुराणान्यपि सर्गादिवर्णनेन तटस्थलक्षणं पुराकृत्य तन्मुखेन मुख्यतया जगतो मूलकारणस्य प्रतिपादन एव पर्यवस्यन्ति । अर्थश्चैष श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धस्य दशमाध्याये विस्पष्टमुक्तः, यथा—

अथ सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।
मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥
दशमस्य विशुद्धयर्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।
वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चाञ्जसा ॥

(भा० २।१०।१-२)

दशमस्य विशुद्धिर्नाम सर्गप्रभृतिषु पुराणानां दशसु प्रतिपाद्येषु दशमस्य इतरसर्वव्यावृत्ततया प्रतिपादनम्, दशमश्च तेषु आश्रयः । स च

आभासश्च निरोधश्च यतश्चाध्यवसीयते ।
स आश्रयः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मेति शब्द्यते ॥

(भा० २।१०।७)

इति वचनानुसारेण जगतो जन्मप्रलययोराधारहेतुभूतं तत्त्वम् । अयमाश्रयः श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये अपाश्रयशब्देन व्यवहृतः प्रकारान्तरेण लक्षितश्च, यथा—

व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु ।
मायामयेषु तद्ब्रह्म जीववृत्तिष्वपाश्रयः ॥

(भा० १२।७।१९)

तदेवम्भूतेन कृत्स्नेन पर्यालोचनेनायमेव निष्कर्षो निर्गलति यत् सम्पूर्णस्यास्य विश्वस्य मूलहेतुभूतं पुराणं तत्त्वमेव सर्वेषां पुराणानां प्रधानतमं प्रतिपाद्यम्, सर्गादिकं च तत्प्रतिपादनोपायतया गौणं प्रतिपाद्यम्, अत एव पुराणसम्बन्धे इदं प्रसिद्धिरपि संगच्छते,

"आदावन्ते च मध्ये च हरिः सर्वत्र गीयते । इति ।

"हरति यः स हरिः" इतिव्युत्पत्त्या प्रागभावलक्षणाया अनभिव्यक्तिलक्षणाया वा असत्तायाः, असमये विनाशस्य तिरोधानस्य वा सम्भावनायाः, समये स्वतन्त्र-

सत्तायाः पृथगभिव्यक्तेश्च वा हरणाद् विश्वस्य जन्मस्थितिभङ्गानां हेतुरेव हरिशब्दार्थः ।

तत्र

दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।
केचित् पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् ! महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥

(भा० १२।७।१०)

इतिवचनानुसारेण दशलक्षणैः पञ्चलक्षणैर्वा विशिष्टानि पुराणानि मार्कण्डेय-पुराणे अष्टादश परिगणितानि, यथा—

ब्राह्मं पाद्मं वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा ।
तथाऽन्यन्नारदीयं च मार्कण्डेयं च सप्तमम् ॥

आग्नेयमष्टमं प्रोक्तं भविष्यं नवमं स्मृतम् ।
दशमं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं नृसिंहैकादशं तथा ॥

वाराहं द्वादशं प्रोक्तं स्कान्दमत्र त्रयोदशम् ।
चतुर्दशं वामनकं कौर्मं पञ्चदशं तथा ॥

मात्स्यं च गारुडं चैव ब्रह्माण्डं च ततः परम् ।

(मा० पु० १३७ अ०)

देवीपुराणे उपपुराणान्यपि उल्लिखितानि सन्ति, यथा—

तथैवोपपुराणानि शृण्वन्तु मुनिसत्तमाः ।
सनत्कुमारं प्रथमं नारसिंहं ततः परम् ॥
नारदीयं शिवं चैव दौर्वाससमनुत्तमम् ।
कापिलं वामनं चैव तथा चौशनसं स्मृतम् ॥
वारुणं कालिकाख्यं च साम्बं नन्दिकृतं शुभम् ।
सौरं पाराशरप्रोक्तमादित्यं चातिविस्तरम् ॥
माहेश्वरं भागवतं वासिष्ठं च सविस्तरम् ।
एतान्युपपुराणानि कथितानि महात्मभिः ॥

(दे० पु० १।२।१३-१६)

एतेषु सर्वेषु पुराणेषु उपपुराणेषु च प्रतिपादितं जगन्मूलभूतं पुराणतत्त्वं किमात्मकम्, कथं च ततो जगतः प्रादुर्भावः, कथं वा विरुद्धतया प्रतीयमानानां तत्प्रतिपादकानां विभिन्नपुराणवचनानां सामञ्जस्यमिति विषये संक्षेपेण पुराणानुरोधेनैव किञ्चित्प्रस्तूयते ।

श्रीमद्भागवते तृतीयस्कन्धस्य पञ्चमाध्याये प्रोक्तम्—

भगवानेक आसेदमग्र आत्माऽऽत्मनां विभुः ।
आत्मेच्छानुगतावात्मा नानामत्युपलक्षणः ॥
स वा एष तदा द्रष्टा नापश्यद् दृश्यमेकराट् ।
मेनेऽसन्तमिवात्मानं सुप्तशक्तिरसुप्तदृक् ॥
सा वा एतस्य संद्रष्टुः शक्तिः सदसदात्मिका ।
माया नाम महाभाग ययेदं निर्ममे विभुः ॥
कालवृत्त्या तु मायायां गुणमय्यामधोक्षजः ।
पुरुषेणात्मभूतेन वीर्यमाधत्त वीर्यवान् ॥

(भा० ३।५।२३-२६)

एतद्वचनानुसारेण सृष्टेः पूर्वं जगद्धेतुभूतं किमप्येकं तत्त्वं विद्यते, तस्य माया दृक् चेति द्वे शक्ती स्तः । तदानीं मायायाः केवलं सरूपाः सूक्ष्मतमा वृत्तयः सुप्तस्य श्वासगतय इव जायन्ते, अतः सा तदानीं सुप्ता कथ्यते । दृक्शक्तिश्च सततमेकरूपतया तदानीमपि प्रबुद्धैव भवति । तदानीन्तनो मायायाः सूक्ष्मवृत्तिसन्तान एव तात्कालिकः कालप्रवाहो भवति, एतत्प्रवाहान्तःपातिनो मायावृत्त्यात्मकस्य कस्यचित्कालविशेषस्योपस्थितौ शक्त्यधिष्ठानभूतं तत्त्वं मायाख्यायां शक्तौ वीर्याधानं करोति, इदं च वीर्याधानमाधारभूतेन तत्त्वेनाधेयभूताया मायाशक्तेः विलक्षणः क्षोभ एव, तत्र प्रथमः क्षोभः स्रष्टव्यस्य जगत आलोचनरूपः, यः "तदैक्षत" इत्यादिश्रुत्या ईक्षणात्मको वर्णितः, द्वितीयश्च क्षोभो बहुभवनसंकल्परूपः, यः "सोऽकामयत, एकोऽहं बहु स्यां प्रजायेय" इति श्रुत्या निर्दिष्टः, तयोः क्रमिकोद्भवानन्तरं महत्तत्त्वप्रभृतीनां कारणतत्त्वानां प्रादुर्भावः, ततश्च ग्रन्थोक्तक्रमेण सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिः ।

अयमेवार्थो ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे प्रथमद्वितीयाध्याययोरित्थमुपवर्णितः—

ज्योतिःसमूहं प्रलये पुराऽऽसीत्केवलं द्विज ! ।
सूर्यकोटिप्रभं नित्यमसंख्यविश्वकारणम् ॥
(ब्र० वै० १।२।४)

दृष्ट्वा शून्यमयं विश्वं गोलोकं च भयंकरम् ।
निर्जन्तु निर्जलं घोरं निर्वातं तमसाऽऽवृतम् ॥
वृक्षशैलसमुद्रादिविहीनं विकृताकृतम् ।
निर्भूतिकं च निर्धातु निःशस्यं निस्तृणं द्विज ॥
आलोच्य मनसा सर्वमेक एवासहायवान् ।
स्वेच्छया स्रष्टुमारेभे सृष्टिं स्वेच्छामयः प्रभुः ॥
(ब्र० वै० ३।१-३)

अत्रापि सृष्टेः प्राक् एकमात्रस्य ज्योतीरूपस्य जगन्मूलस्य सत्त्वं तदिच्छया ततो जगज्जन्मनश्च प्रतिपादनं कृतम्, तदिच्छा च विविच्यमाना तदुपाश्रिताया अनादिशक्तेर्मायायाः संक्षोभव्यतिरेकेण स्वरूपसत्तां नासादयितुमीष्टे।

ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणस्य प्रकृतिखण्डस्य द्वितीयेऽध्याये जगज्जन्मवर्णनप्रसङ्गेनेत्थमभिहितम्-

जगतः प्रादुर्भावात्पूर्वं वर्तमानस्य जगन्मूलकारणस्य आत्मा, ब्रह्म, कृष्ण इति नामानि सुप्रथितानि, मूलतत्त्वरूपः कृष्णः स्वांशे भूतेन कारणेन प्रेरितः सृष्टेः विधित्सया आत्मानं प्रकृतिपुरुषरूपेण द्विधा व्यदधात् । द्विधा भूतयोस्तयोः कामक्रीडात्मकः संघर्षः सुचिरं प्रावर्तत, संघर्षस्योष्मस्वेदश्वासानिवार्यफलकतया तस्मादूष्मस्वेदश्वासा अजायन्त, तत ऊष्मणोऽग्निः, स्वेदाज्जलम्, श्वासाच्च वायुरुदपद्यत, एतादृशस्य संघर्षस्य गर्भधारणं सुनिश्चितः परिणामः, अतः प्रकृतिरप्येतत्संघर्षवशाद् गर्भमदधात्, शतमन्वन्तरात्मके काले गते तस्माद् गर्भादिकं तेजोगोलकं प्रादुरभवत्, सुचिरप्रतीक्षाऽनन्तरं जडप्रसवदर्शनेन दुःखिता प्रकृतिः कोपवशात्तद्गोलकं जले प्राक्षिपत्, अनया घटनया क्रुद्धः कृष्णः "त्वयाऽपत्यपालनं न कृतमतस्ते सन्ततयो निरपत्या भविष्यन्ति" इत्येवं प्रकृतिमशपत्, ततः प्रकृतेर्जिह्वाग्रात् सरस्वत्याः, वामभागात् लक्ष्म्याः, दक्षिणभागाच्च राधाया जन्माभवत् । तदानीं कृष्णस्य वामभागः चतुर्भुजपुरुषात्मना दक्षिणभागश्च द्विभुजपुरुषात्मना पर्यणमत । सरस्वतीं लक्ष्मीं च चतुर्भुजः, राधां च द्विभुजो मायात्वेन पर्यगृह्णात्

तदनु चतुर्भुजस्याङ्गात् अनेके चतुर्भुजाः पार्षदाः, कृष्णस्य लोमकूपात् असंख्या गोपाः, राधायाः लोमकूपाच्च असंख्याः सुन्दर्यो जन्म प्राप्नुवन्। तदानीमेव कृष्णस्य शरीराद् दुर्गा, ब्रह्मा, शिवश्चाविरभवन्, प्रकृत्या जले प्रक्षिप्तं तेजोगोलकं बहुकालानन्तरमेकस्मिन् दिने सहसा निरभिद्यत। निर्भिद्यमानात्तस्मादेकः शिशुरजायत, स आत्मानमसहायं दृष्ट्वा रोदितुमारभत, रुदतस्तस्य सहसा ज्ञानमुदमीलत्, ज्ञानसम्पन्नः स सनातनं ब्रह्मज्योतिः कृष्णात्मनाऽध्यायत्। ध्यानेन प्रीतः कृष्णः तत्साक्षात्कारगोचरीभूय तमनन्तब्रह्माण्डाधारं निष्कामं निर्भयं सर्वथा परिपूर्णं महाविराड्रूपं महाविष्णुमकरोत्, ततः कियति काले व्यतीते तन्महाविराट्सकाशात् क्षुद्रविराड्रूपस्य क्षुद्रविष्णोर्जन्माभवत्, तस्य च नाभिकमलाद् ब्रह्माऽजायत, स च दीर्घेण तपसा कृष्णात् सामर्थ्यं प्राप्य विविधं विश्वमसृजत्।

अनेन वर्णनेनापि इदमेव सिध्यति यज्जगतः पूर्वं तद्धेतुभूतं शक्तिसम्पन्नं किमप्येकमेव मूलं भवति यतस्तस्य जन्मादिकमभिनिर्वर्तते।

इदमेव तत्त्वं विभिन्नैस्तत्त्वचिन्तकैः क्वचिद् ब्रह्म, क्वचित् परमेश्वरः, क्वचिद् विष्णुः, क्वचित् शिवः, क्वचिद् देवी, क्वचिच्च शून्यमित्येवं विविधैः शब्दैर्व्यवहृतमस्ति, तत्सहभूता शक्तिश्च अविद्या-माया-लक्ष्मी-शिवा-संवित्प्रभृतिभिः शब्दैर्व्यपदिष्टा विद्यते।

शक्तिः शक्तिमतो भिन्नाऽभिन्ना वेति विवेचनप्रस्तावे देवीपुराणे तृतीयस्कन्धस्य षष्ठाध्याये देव्या भणितं यत्—

सदैकत्वं न भेदोऽस्ति सर्वदैव ममास्य च।
योऽसौ साऽहमहं योऽसौ भेदोऽस्ति मतिविभ्रमात्॥

आवयोरन्तरं सूक्ष्मं यो वेद मतिमान् हि सः।
विमुक्तः स तु संसारान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः॥

एकमेवाद्वितीयं वै ब्रह्म नित्यं सनातनम्।
द्वैतमाद्यं पुनर्याति काल उत्पित्सुसंज्ञके॥

यथा दीपस्तथोपाधेर्योगात् सञ्जायते द्विधा।
छायेवादर्शमध्ये वा प्रतिबिम्बं तथाऽवयोः॥

भेद उत्पत्तिकाले वै सर्गार्थं प्रभवत्यज ।
दृश्यादृश्यविभेदोऽयं द्वैविध्ये सति सर्वथा ॥
नाहं स्त्री न पुमांश्चाहं न क्लीवं सर्गसंक्षये ।
सर्गे सति विभेदः स्यात् कल्पितोऽयं धिया पुनः ॥
(दे० भा० ३ । ६ । २-७)

एतेषु पद्येषु शक्तिरूपाया देव्याः शक्तिमद्रूपस्य परमात्मनश्च अभेदस्य सत्यत्वं भेदस्य च कल्पितत्वं स्पष्टमुक्तम् । अतो जगतो मूलकारणस्य परमेश्वर-शब्देन परमेश्वरीशब्देन वा व्यपदेशो न किञ्चिदनौचित्यमञ्चति । ये किल शक्तिं प्रकृतिशब्देन शक्तिमन्तं च पुरुषशब्देन व्यवहृत्य प्रकृतेर्जडतां पुरुषस्य चैतन्यरूपतां च वदन्तस्तयोर्भेदमामनन्ति, शक्तिं वा मायाशब्देन शक्तिमन्तं च ब्रह्मशब्देन व्यपदिश्य तयोर्जडत्वचेतनत्वे प्रतिपादयन्तस्तयोर्भेदं ब्रुवन्ति ते तयोस्तत्त्वज्ञातारो नूनं न भवन्ति । यतस्तथाऽभ्युपगमे पुराणेषु तयोरनन्यत्वप्रतिपादनपराणि सहस्रशो वचनानि नोपपादयितुं शक्येरन्, लक्ष्मी-दुर्गाराधाप्रभृतीनां प्रकृतित्वं चैतन्याविनाभूतं निग्रहानुग्रहसामर्थ्यं तत्र तत्र वर्ण्यमानं जगतामद्वितीयमूलहेतुत्वं च कथञ्चिदपि संगमयितुं न शक्येत । अतोऽयमेवाभ्युप-गमो न्याय्यः समुचितश्च प्रतिभाति यत् प्रकृत्यादिशब्दव्यपदेश्या शक्तिः पुरुषपरमेश्वरादिशब्दव्यपदेश्यः शक्तिमाँश्च प्रभाप्रदीपाविव नितरामयुतसिद्धौ । सत्त्वरजस्तमोरूपाया अनादिप्रकृतेः सच्चिदानन्दरूपस्य पुरुषस्य च अन्योन्यविच्छुरितं स्वरूपमेव परमेश्वर्याः परमेश्वरस्य वा वास्तविकं रूपम् । अन्योन्यविच्छुरणं चैतत् न अद्वैतवेदान्तिनाम् अन्योन्यस्मिन् अन्योन्यात्मताऽवभासलक्षणाध्यासः, न वा शाब्दिकानां भेदसहवर्त्त्यभेदरूपं तादात्म्यम्, न वा गौडीयवैष्णवानाम् अचिन्त्यभेदाभेदः न च स्याद्वादिनां सापेक्षभेदाभेदः, किन्तु अनाद्यनन्तस्वभावो-ऽन्योन्यानुवेधरूपो विचित्रः संसर्गः, स च "इमावन्योन्यसम्भिन्नौ" इति प्रती-तिसाक्षिकः स्वरूपसम्बन्धविशेषः । विच्छुरणं चेदं त्रिकालसत्यं न कदाप्यपक्षीयते । यदि कदाचित् सर्वप्राणिसंमोक्षमूलको महाप्रलयः सम्भविष्यति तदाऽपि विच्छुर-णमिदं नापयास्यति, किन्तु प्रकृतेः सूक्ष्मवृत्तिसन्तानस्वरूपः कालावच्छेदप्रवाह एवापुनरावृत्तिभावेन विरंस्यति, येन क्षोभकालाभेन प्रकृतिः सर्गौपयिकं परिणामं

पुनर्न कदापि लप्स्यते, अपि तु सर्वथा निष्क्रिया सती सच्चिदानन्दात्मना नितान्तं शान्तभावेनावस्थास्यते। अथवा तदानीमपि सरूपाः परिणतीः प्राप्नुवानाऽपि प्रकृतिः कस्यापि जीवादृष्टस्यानवशिष्टतया जीवकर्मकर्मात्मनः सहकारिणो वैकल्येन प्रपञ्चौपयिकं प्रक्षोभं न प्राप्स्यति। अतो न तदुत्तरं पुनरपि संसारप्रसारप्रसक्तिः। अन्योन्यविच्छुरणशब्दप्रयोगश्च तयोरेकान्तत एकत्वे न युज्यत इत्यभिन्नयोरपि तयोः किञ्चित्सूक्ष्मतरमन्तरमास्थीयते, अन्तरं चेदं न भेदः, अपि तु तदनन्यत्वेऽपि तदसाध्यसाधकत्वं तदनुवेद्यं वा यत्किञ्चिद् दुरवगाहरूपम्। तत्प्रतिपत्तिसाधनमेव मानवस्य महत्तमं कर्तव्यम्। तच्चातीव दुर्ग्रहतया शास्त्रोक्तप्रकारेण योगविधेरनुष्ठानसातत्येनैव साध्यम्।

इदमेव सर्वमभिसन्धाय देवीपुराणे तृतीयस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये ब्रह्मणाऽभिहितम्।

अनादिनिधनौ विद्धि सदा प्रकृतिपूरुषौ।
विश्वासेनाभिगम्यौ तौ नाविश्वासेन कर्हिचित् ॥११॥
चैतन्यं सर्वभूतेषु यत्तद्विद्धि परात्मकम्।
तेजः सर्वत्रगं नित्यं नानाभावेषु नारद ॥१२॥
तं च तां च महाभाग व्यापकौ विद्धि सर्वगौ।
ताभ्यां विहीनं संसारे न किञ्चिद्वस्तु विद्यते ॥१३॥
तौ विचिन्त्यौ तदा देहे मिश्रीभूतौ सदाऽव्ययौ।
एकरूपौ चिदात्मानौ निर्गुणौ निर्मलावुभौ ॥१४॥
या शक्तिः परमात्माऽसौ स योऽसौ परमात्मता।
अन्तरं नैतयोः कोऽपि सूक्ष्मं वेद च नारद ॥१५॥
अधीत्य सर्वशास्त्राणि वेदान् साङ्गाँश्च नारद।
न जानाति तयोः सूक्ष्ममन्तरं विरतिं विना ॥१६॥

THE POSITION AND ANTIQUITY OF THE PĀTĀLA-KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA PURĀṆA

By

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(Continued from Vol. I, No. 2)

[अस्य लेखस्य पूर्वार्द्धे पुरा इदं प्रतिपादितं यत् पद्मपुराणान्तर्गतस्य पातालखण्डस्य त्रयः स्तराः समभवन् रामोपाख्यानसंवलितः प्राचीनोंशः रामोपासकैर्निर्मितः, द्वितीयस्तु शिवप्रशंसात्मकः पाशुपतशैवैर्विरचितः, कृष्णोपासनात्मकः तृतीयोंशः भागवतवैष्णवैः सर्वान्ते संयोजितः। वंगदेशीयहस्तलेखेषु पातालखण्डस्य तावानेवांश उपलभ्यते यावान् रामस्योत्तरचरितं वर्णयति। सैषा स्थितिः पातालखण्डस्य कालक्रमेणोपबृंहणं विचारयितुं प्रसह्य प्रेरयति। लेखस्य अस्मिन् उत्तरार्धभागेऽयं विचारः प्रवृत्तः यत् पातालखण्डस्य रचना भवभूतिकृतोत्तररामचरितनाटकानन्तरं सञ्जाता। यद् उभयत्र रामस्योत्तरचरितं वर्ण्यते वाल्मीकीये रामायणे तन्नास्ति, भवभूतेरेव प्राक्कालीनत्वमत्र स्वीकृतम्। बाणस्य गद्यशैली पातालखण्डस्य लेखकेनानुकृता। अयमंशः अष्टमशताब्द्यां विरचितः। पाशुपतयोगात्मकः द्वितीयोंशः दशम्यां शताब्द्यां निर्मितः, तथा राधाकृष्णयोः महिमानमाश्रित्य विरचितः तृतीयोंशः (अ० ६९-९९) द्वादश्यां शताब्द्यां विरचितः।]

As is the case with most of the Purāṇas, the determination of the correct date of the three parts of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa is really a very difficult task. Prof. S. K. Belvalkar is of opinion that the first (which is the earliest of the three) portion of this khaṇḍa is anterior to Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita*, as he says, "More probably, however, Bhavabhūti derived his material (for the *Uttararāmacharita*) from the first twenty-eight chapters of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.[1] He further observes "Bhavabhūti's source for the incidents in acts IV-VI of the *Uttararāmacharita* must undoubtedly have been some account like that in the *Padma-purāṇa*"[2] as he finds "no support

1. S. K. Belvalkar '*Rāma's Later History*', pt. 1, Introduction and Translation, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1915, p. lvii. Bracketed portion is mine.

2. Ibid., p. lviii

that this Rāmāśvamedha-prakaraṇa in the *Padma-purāṇa* was posterior to Bhavabhūti."[1] Bhavabhūti as we all know flourished most probably near the close of the seventh century. So, if we accept Prof. Belvalkar's observation in this respect, the Pātāla-khaṇḍa is to be dated at least a hundred years before Bhavabhūti, i.e. near the close of the sixth century A.D. Let us discuss whether it is possible to accept this date or not.

It is necessary in this connection to point out some characteristic features of the Rāmāyaṇa stories occurring in the *Uttararāmacharita* and the first half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* but not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* proper. The Pātāla-khaṇḍa deals at length with the Horse-sacrifice of Rāmachandra. The sacrificial horse marched victoriously through Pāñcāla, Kuru, Uttara-Kuru, Daśārṇa, Ujjayinī, Ahichchhatrā, the land of the Payoshṇī (river). Ratnātaṭa, the land of the Gaṇḍakī (river.) Nīla (mountain), Chakrāṅka Tejapura, the land of the Revā (river), Devapura, Hemakūṭa (mountain), Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga. Moreover it deals elaborately with the war between Śatrughna with his followers viz. Hanumān, Suratha, Sugrīva and others on the one side and Lava and Kuśa on the other as the latter tried to snatch away the sacrificial Horse from its keepers. The result was that all the forces on Śatrughna's side including himself fell down senseless and they were completely over-powered with the prowess of Lava and Kuśa. They bound the leaders of the defeated party and brought them to Sītā.[2] She at once recognised those people and revived them by her power.[3] In the fourth and fifth acts of the *Uttararāmacharita* we find similar instances, the fight between Rāma's soldiers and Lava. The

1. Ibid., p. lviii
2. Pātāla-khadṇa, 64. 38-44
3. *Yadyahaṁ manasā vāchā karmaṇā raghunāyakam |*
bhajāmi nānyaṃ manasā tarhi jīved ayaṃ nṛipaḥ ||
sainyam chāpi mahat sarvam yan nāśitam idam balāt |
putrābhyāṁ tattu jīveta matsatyāj jagatām pateḥ ||
iti yāvad vacho brūte jānakī pati-devatā |
tāvat sarvaṁ balaṁ nashṭaṁ jīvitaṁ raṇamūrdhani ||
Ibid., 64. 78-80.

supreme inborn faculty of Bhavabhūti prevented him from delineating all these affairs which would affect the dramatic effect certainly to a great extent. However, the main point (i.e. the defeat of Rāma's army) has been the chief point of attention both in the *Uttararāmacharita* and in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. It is needless to mention that the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not deal with any of these topics' So taking all these as innovations, would it be impossible to say that the Purāṇakāra took its theme, i.e. the defeat of Rāma's army from Bhavabhuti's *Uttararāmacharita* ? Moreover both in the *Uttararāmacharita* and in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa the story has a happy end, i e. it ends with the union of Rāma and Sītā, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a tragic end. This also confirms our above proposition. It is important to note in this connection what P. V, Kane thinks about this. He says "There is great similarity between the story given in the *Padma-purāṇa* and the story of the *Uttararāmacharita*. Whether Bhavabhūti borrowed from the *Padma-purāṇa*, it is difficult to say. From the way in which all Purāṇas have been tampered with and interpolations have been introduced, I would rather say that the *Padma-purāṇa* is the borrower"[1].

There are, however, some variations of the *Padma-p*, from Bhavabhūti which prove the originality of the writer of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa to some extent. First of all, *Uttararāmacharita* describes only the conquest of Rāma's party by Lava and not the victorious march oi Śatrughna's army as has been described elaborately in Pātāla-khaṇḍa. Secondly in the *Uttararāmacharita* we see that Rāma appears personally all of a sudden on the battlefield and seeing the twins his affection for them grows up, but in the Pātāla-khaṇpa, Rāma does not appear himself and as we have noted before, Sītā revives the defeated army. Thirdly, Bhavabhūti seems to be inclined to Sītā's second ordeal but there is no mention of the second ordeal of Sītā in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. Fourthly, the wish of Sītā during the advanced stage of pregnancy, as is found, in the *Uttararāmacharita*, is different from that of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. In the latter it is said that

1. *Uttararāmacharita* with the commentary of Ghanaśyāma, ed. by P. V. Kane, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1929, 3rd edition, p. xxvii.

Sītā wished to see Lopāmudrā and other chaste ladies whom she had seen once long before[1]; while in the *Uttararāmacharita*, Sītā wished to go again to the Daṇḍaka forest to wander in those serene and majestic sylvan avenues and to take her bath in the Ganges[2]. Besides these there are some other minor variations of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa from the *Uttararāmacharita* which are not worth considering. But these dissimilarities between the two do not stand against the proposition that one is the borrower. What we are going to say is that it is not Bhavabhūti the great poet who has borrowed from this Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.*, but it is the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which is the borrower. That it is so, can be proved by some of its expressions which have definitely been taken from the *Uttararāmacharita*. Is not the verse—

> *'koṭarasthā mahāsarpāḥ phūt-kurvanti sukopitāḥ |*
> *ghūkā ghūtkurvate yatra loka-chittabhayaṁkarāḥ ||*[3]

of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa a shorter form of the verse

> *'kūjatkuñjakuṭīra-kauśikaghaṭāghūtkāravat-kīchaka*
> *stambāḍambara-mūka-maukulikulaḥ krauñchāvato'yaṁ giriḥ |*
> *etasmin prachalākināṁ prachalakāmudvejitāḥ kūjitair-*
> *udvellanti purāṇarohiṇa-taruskandheshu kumbhīnasāḥ ||*[4]

of the *Uttararāmacharita* ? The following observations will streugthen our theory that Bhavabhūti was anterior.

It is not very difficult to show how Bāṇa's style was immitated by the author or compiler of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. At least in one place, it can safely be remarked, the illustration of the 'Parisaṁkhyā alaṅkāra' has definitely been copied from Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī where the poet excels in delineating this figure of speech with his masterly hand. Let us take the help of the examples of each of them

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1. *chiraṁ yātaṁ mayā satyo lopāmudrādikāḥ striyaḥ |*
   drishṭāḥ svāmin mano drashṭum tā utsukati sundarīḥ ||
   Ibid , 55. 12.
2. See *Uttararāmacharita*, Act 1,
   'Jāne punarapi prasannagambhīrāsu vanarājishu viharishyāmi pavitra-saumya-śiśirāvagāhāṁ gaṅgām..............bhagavatīṁ bhāgīrathīm avagāhishye
3. Pātāla khaṇḍa, 59. 5.
4. *Uttararāmacharita*, Act II, 29.

Pātāla-khaṇḍa

sadambhā nimnagā yatra na yatra janatā kvachit ||
Kulānyeva kulīnāni varṇānāṃ na dhanāni ca |
Vibhramo yatra nārīshu na vidvatsu na karhichit ||
nadyaḥ kuṭilagāminyo na yatra vishaye prajāḥ |
tamoyuktāḥ kshapā yatra bahuleshu na mānavāḥ ||
rajoyujaḥ striyo yatra nā (na) dharma-bahulā narāḥ |
dhanairanandho yatrāsti jano naiva cha bhojanam ||
anayaḥ syandanaṁ yatra na cha vai rājapurūshaḥ |
daṇḍaḥ paraśukuddāla-bāla-vyajana rājishu ||
ātapatreshu nānyatra kvachit krodhoparodhajaḥ |
anyatrākshikavrindebhyaḥ kvachinna paridevanam ||
ākshikā eva driśyante yatra pāśaka-pāṇayaḥ |
jāḍya-vārtā jaleshveva strīmadhyā eva durbalāḥ |
kaṭhorahṛidayā yatra sīmantinyo na mānavāḥ |
Oshadhīshveva yatrāsti kushṭhayogo na mānave ||
vedho yatra suratneshu śūlaṃ mūrtikareshu vai |
kampaḥ sāttvikabhāvottho na bhayāt kvāpi kasyachit ||
saṁjvaraḥ kāmajo yatra dāridryaṁ kalushasya ca |
durlabhatvaṃ sadaivasya sukṛite na cha vastunaḥ ||
ibhā eva pramattā vai yuddhe vīchyo jalāśaye |
dānahānirgajeshveva tīkshṇā eva hi kaṇṭakāḥ ||
bāṇeshu guṇaviśleshо bandhoktiḥ pustake dṛiḍhā |
snehatyāgaḥ khaleshveva na cha vai svajane jane ||[1]

KĀDAMBARĪ

1. *(Yasmiṁścha rājani jita-jagati pālayati mahīṁ) chitrakarmasu varṇasaṁkarāḥ, rateshu keśagrahāḥ kāvyeshu dṛiḍhabandhāḥ, śāstreshu chintā, svapneshu vipralambhāḥ............chāpeshu guṇachchhedāḥ ....turaṅgeshu kaśābhighātaḥ makaradhvaje chāpadhvanirabhūt.*[2]

2. *Yatra cha malinatā havirdhūmeshu na chariteshu mukharāgaḥ śukeshu na kopeshu, tīkshṇatā kuśāgreshu na svabhāveshu,*

1. Pātāla-khaṇḍa 5 32b-43.

2. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's '*Kādambarī*' with the commentaries of Bhānuchandra and his disciple Siddhachandra. Edited by Kasinath Pandurang Parab, ninth edition, published from the Nirnaya-sagara Press, Bombay, 1948-pp. 10-11.

chañchalatā kadalīdaleshu na manaḥsu, chakshūrāgaḥ kokileshu na parakalatreshu......................bhujaṁgamānām bhogaḥ, kapīnāṁ śrīphalābhilāshaḥ. mūlānām adhogatiḥ.[1]

3. *(Yasmiṁścha rājani) girīnāṁ vipakshatā, pratyayānāṁ paratvaṃ, darpaṇānāmabhimukhāvasthānam, śūlapaṇipratimānāṁ durgā-śleshaḥ, jaladharāṇāṃ chāpadhāraṇam, dhvajānāmunnatiḥ...... ......kāminīkuchabhaṅgeshu vakratā, kariṇāṃ dāna-vichchhittiḥ, akshakrīḍāsu śūnya grihadarśanaṁ (prithivyāmāsīt)*[2]

This above comparison definitely proves that the author of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa was very much influenced by the style of Bāṇabhaṭṭa whom he tried to imitate partially. It will perhaps be unwise to think that Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the master of prose-writer in the domain of Sanskrit literature and famous for his rhetoric language, would borrow these from an ordinary Purāṇa-writer of common intelligence. If 75-100 years time be given for Bāṇa's writings to become very much popular and widely recognised, the first part (which is evidently the earliest) of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the eighth century A. D., as we all know Bāṇabhaṭṭa flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thus we find that Prof. Belvalkar's opinion cannot be accepted for Bhavabhūti becomes anterior to the writer of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa at least by 50-100 years. Moreover there are frequent references to Tulasī-plant which has been glorified to a great extent[3]. This tends to assign a much later date to this part. It should be mentioned in this connection that a large number of verses have been quoted from the *Padma-p.* by different Smṛiti-writers, some of them have mentioned the name of the Pātālakhaṇḍa,

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1. Idid. pp. 89-90.
2. Idid. pp. 125-127.
3. *tulasī mastake yasya śilā hridi manoharā]*
mukhe Karṇe' thavā rāma-nāma muktastadaiva saḥ||
tasmādanena tulasī mastake vidhritā purā|
śrāvitaṁ rāmanāmāsu śilā hridi sudhāritā || Pātāla-khaṇḍa 20.81-82

tulasī vallabhā yasya kadāchchidyachchhirodharām|
na muñchati ramānātha-pāda-padma sraguttamā|| Ibib. 32,6

but, except those quoted by *Gopalabhatta*[2] none of these verses can be found in this Pātāla-khaṇḍa. But from this it will be unwise to jump to a conclusion that this portion was written not before those Smṛiti-works, for that will be *argumentum ex silentio*. It is more probable that the Smṛiti-writers. finding the first half of this Khaṇḍa not helpful for their purposes had not quoted from it. Really this portion did not possess any chapters which might be helpful to Smṛiti-writers[3]. Gopālabhaṭṭa in his *Haribhaktivilāsa* has quoted some verses of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa (chs. 84-94, 96). This portion, as has already been said, was not in its origin an integral part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa but as we have shown above came to be included in the latter during its third recast by the Bhāgavata Vaishṇavas. If about 200 years' time be given for its gaining so much popularity and reputation that it could be quoted as authority by such renowned an author as Gopālabhaṭṭa then it must be admitted that the third recast has been made near about 1200 A.D. So by process of subtraction the time of composition of the first part of the Rāmaites comes near 800 A. D. This analysis corroborates our earlier one and it can now be averred that the earliest portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which constituted the nucleus of it and was an original contribution of the Rāmaites, was composed between 750-850 A. D. This early date can be supported by the fact of its inclusion in the Bengal manuscripts also. So, it cannot be recognised as spurious or superfluous.

The fixing of the date of the second part is much easier. We have shown its spuriousness and its total non-occurrence in the manuscripts of Bengal. This tends to show a much later date. It is also observable that it betrays the knowledge of the Kūrma-p. It says that one who listens to the identity

1. See *Viramitrodaya* (Chowkhamba ed). *Pūjāprakāśa*, p. 504 and *Vidhānpārijāta*, (Bibliotheca Indica) Vol. II, 520.

2. All the verses quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa in his *Haribhaktivilāsa* have been traced by Dr. R. C. Hazra. See Hazra *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 306–7

3. References to Smṛiti-matters are not wanting, but these are few and far between.

of the two gods as delineated in the *Kūrma-p* is purged of all sins.[1] It has further been said that only a hearing of the *Kūrma-p.* rescues even those who kill the Brahmins or are addicted to drinking or unite themselves with the wives of their preceptors.[2] This proves that the compiler of this part did not only know the *Kūrma-p.* by its name only but was thoroughly conversant with the subject matter of it The date of that purāṇa falls between 550-800 A.D.[3] Thus allowing 150-200 years time for its coming to limelight, the second portion can be dated c. 950 A.D. This also is in accordance with the date of the first part (750/850 + 200 = 950/1050 A. D.)

That the third part has been added later has been shown above. We have also seen how it depicts a picture of a developed Rādhā-cult. Moreover this abounds in references to Tulasī[4]. Traces of Tantricism are also vividly observable.[5] Āgama has been admitted as an authority[6]. Tāntric mudrās, have been referred to more than once.[7] Maṇḍala and Yantra have been regarded as the medium of worship.[8] All these tend to assign a much later date to this part. We have also observed that only some portions of it (upto ch. 80) occur in the Bengal manuscripts. Giving vent to the earlier process we can fix its date as between 1150 to 1200 A. D. It cannot be much later as Gopālabhaṭṭa in 1400 A. D. quotes verses from this portion.

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1. *Kaurmoktam yat purāṇam taddevayorabhidābhidam |*
   śriṇoti yastat prathamaṃ tasya pāpam vinaśyati ||
   Pātāla-khaṇḍa 110. 487.
2. *Brahmahā madyapaḥ stenas-tathaiva gurutalpagaḥ |*
   Kaurmam Purānaṁ srutvaiva muchyate pātakāttataḥ ||
   Ibid. 102. 42
3. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 65, 71
4. See, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 72.146, 73.38, 79.32,56,58,60,63-66; 80.58: 94.4-7, 9, 10 etc.
5. See, Ibid., 74. 152b; 90. 1, 3, 4, 8, 21, etc.
6. See, Ibid , 84. 81a; 93 23b,26a; 100.40a, 45a; 109. 15b; 110. 224b etc.
7. See, Ibid., 72. 27, 74.39, 81.33-34.
8. See, Ibid., 79.1. etc.

Thus to be precise we can say, that the first part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa consisting of the first sixty-eight chapters, dates between 750-850 A. D. The second, which consists of fourteen chapters from ch. 100 to 113 (i e. to the end) dates between 950-1000 A. D., and the third part from ch. 69-99 dates between 1150 to 1200 A. D.

There is another source from which we can prove that the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in its present form cannot be dated later than 1200 A. D. It is the *Nāradīya-p.* This purāṇa while going to give a summary of the *Padma-p.* narrates the contents of this Pātāla-khaṇḍa in its present form and we know that the *Nāradīya-p.* cannot be later than 1400 A. D.

We should now focuss our attention on the provenance of this khaṇḍa. No definite information can be given about the provenance of the first and the third part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa, but some observations may be made in connection with the provenance of the second part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* and this we believe will not be a very difficult task.

In this part, a vivid description of the beautiful physique of the ladies of Videha has been given in connection with the gorgeous marriage ceremony of Rāma and his brothers. From their custom of putting on the clothes, it can be suggested that the author although going to describe the womenfolk of Videha (modern North Bihar) is delineating unconciously the mode of putting on the clothes of the womenfolk of his own country i. e. Western India, Mahārāshṭra or Rājputānā in particular. It is necessary to quote the requisite text to understand its full implication.

"......*dakshiṇāṅgushṭhasparśi-kachchhāgrā uparikachchhaṁ nīviṁ kritvā karadvayayutā vastrapradeśakaṇṭhaṁ-aprāvrityāpaavasana-paribhāgā vritta-stana-vasaanāpara-bhāge vāmāṃsa eva dakshiṇapārśvāgatena daśābhāgena nābhiprāntena praveśinopaśobhita-gātrayashṭayo yoshito vivāha-maṅgala karma-karaṇāyānekaśa āgachchan.*"[1] and

1. Ibid, 112-51.

"..............mṛidudhavala-jaghana-parivīta-vastroparibhāgena snigdhavartu'a-paraspara-saṃgharsha-payodhara-madhyapradeś-opaśobhita-vāmāṃsakaṇṭhopaśobhitavanitām" [1]

"One end of the extended portion of their cloth touched their right toe. The upper end of the extended part of their cloth was tied. The breasts were enclosed with another piece of cloth. With that tied, two-cubit-long cloth on which keeping the neck open, was made to come across the back from the left shoulder to the right and into the garment at the navel, many well dressed women came to perform the auspicious duties of the marriage ceremony." and

"The upper part of the soft white cloth which surrounds the waist, appears charming in between the two pleasing, round-shaped, thickly-placed breasts (and) falls on the left shoulder near the neck. Thus the women are beautified."

These suggest that a portion of the lower belly, the two hands and the neck remained uncovered by the clothes which they wore. A picture of the Mahārāṣṭī or Rājputānī (Māḍavārī in particular) ladies is drawn before our eyes as soon as we go through the lines. Not to speak of the Bihari (it is to be kept in mind that the author was depicting the picture of the women of Mithilā-modern northern Bihar) but not in any other parts of India, the ladies put on their clothes in such a fashion. The procession of a good number of ladies in connection with the auspicious marriage ceremony is an additional proof to its provenance being in Western India, Mahārāṣhṭra or Rājputānā in particular.

1. Ibid. 112. 54.

श्रीमद्भागवतस्य वैशिष्ट्यम्

नरेन्द्रनाथशर्मा चौधुरी, दिल्ली-विश्वविद्यालयः

[In this article the learned author draws attention to the peculiar literary qualities of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and also its insistence upon the ten-fold constituents of a Purāṇa (पुराणं दशलक्षणम्). Besides other points the similarity between the language of the Vedas and that of the Bhāgavata comes in for special observation.]

श्रीमद्भागवतं पुराणेषु नितरामभ्यर्हितं स्थानमधिकरोति। अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कर्तृत्वविचारः कालनिर्णयो वा न मे निबन्धस्य विषयः। ऐतिहासिका एव तत्र प्रमाणम्। केवलमस्य ग्रन्थस्य वैशिष्ट्येषु किंचिन्मात्रमधिकृत्य द्वित्राः शब्दाः कथयिष्यन्ते।

(क) भागवतस्य प्रथमं वैशिष्ट्यं तु दशलक्षणत्वरूपम्। तथा हि–पुराणेषु 'सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च, वंशानुचरितं चे'ति पञ्चविषया वर्णयितव्या वर्तन्ते। परन्तु भागवतं न केवलं पञ्चलक्षणम्, अपि तु दशलक्षणं विद्यते। तथा चोक्तं भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे—

'तस्मा इदं भागवतं पुराणं दशलक्षणम् ॥ २, ९, ४३
अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः।
मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥' २, १०, १

अत्र परमाश्रयस्य परब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः सम्यग्ज्ञानाय सर्गप्रतिसर्गादीनां नवानां वर्णनं वर्तते, न तु तदेव मुख्यम्। उक्तं च प्रथमस्कन्धे—

'इदं भागवतं नाम पुराणं ब्रह्मसम्मितम्' ॥ १, ३, ४०

भागवतमधिकृत्य गुरुपरम्परातः श्रूयते यदयं ग्रन्थः श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताया भाष्यभूतश्चकास्ति। गीतायां विचारितस्य सिद्धान्तितस्य च विषयजातस्य उदाहरण-प्रत्युदाहरणादिना विशदीकरणं सुस्थापनं च भागवते विहितम्।

(ख) अथ भागवतस्य अन्यत् किंचिद् वैशिष्ट्यमधुना प्रदर्श्यते। भागवते खलु ब्राह्मण-क्षत्र-वैश्य-शूद्राणां मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रवत् वर्णनं कृतम्। परन्तु भागवते न केवलं जन्मना जातिस्वरूपनिरूपणमपि तु गीतोक्तदिशा गुणैः कर्मभिरपि। इत्थं ब्राह्मणलक्षणानि शूद्रेपि स्युस्तर्हि तस्यापि ब्राह्मणत्वमेव, न तु शूद्रत्वमिति भागवतमतं वरीवर्ति।

तथा चोक्तं सप्तमस्कन्धे—

'यस्य यल्लक्षणं प्रोक्तं पुंसो वर्णाभिव्यञ्जकम्।
यदन्यत्रापि दृश्येत तत् तेनैव विनिर्दिशेत्॥ ७, ११, ३५

अत एव भगवता श्री चैतन्यदेवेन यवनो ब्राह्मणगुणसम्पन्नो हरिदासोऽपि परमवैष्णवत्वेन परिगृहीतः, प्रसादितश्च।

(ग) भागवतस्य अपरं वैशिष्ट्यं तावत् भूतेषु देवताबुद्धिः। यद्यपि इदं तत्त्वं खलु ईशोपनिषदि—'यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानी'ति श्रुत्या, गीतायां च 'सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानमि'त्यादिस्मृत्या प्रतिपादितं तथापि भागवते सप्तमस्कन्धे—

'तन्मूलत्वादच्युतेज्या सर्वजीवात्मतर्पणम्॥ ७, १४, ३६

इत्यादिशास्त्रेणापि निर्गलितार्थो दत्तः। इदमेव तत्त्वं श्रीरामकृष्णसेवा-श्रमेऽपि 'यत्र यत्र जीवस्तत्र तत्र शिवः' इति शास्त्रेण रूपायितं दृश्यते।

(घ) अपि च सर्वप्राणिनां समत्वस्य खलु प्रतिपादनं भागवते कृतम्। तथा हि 'केवलाघो भवति केवलादो' इति श्रुत्या ऋग्वेदे (१०, ११७, ६) स्वार्थैकनिष्ठस्य निन्दा कृता। गीतायां च तृतीयाध्याये—

'यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः।
भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात्॥ ३, १३

इत्यादिस्मृत्या न केवलं स्वार्थपराणां निन्दा कृता, अपि तु परार्थपराणां प्रशंसापि भङ्ग्या विहिता। भागवते तु सप्तमस्कन्धे—

'यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम्।
अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति॥' ७, १४, ८

इति शास्त्रेण केवलादिनो न केवलं निन्दा विहिता, अपि तु तस्य चौरत्वं दण्ड्यत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् ।

(ङ) अथापरं वैशिष्ट्यं भागवतस्य भगवत्प्राप्तेरुपायवर्णनमितिहासादिभिः समर्थनं च । भागवते नवलक्षणा भक्तिर्वर्णिता, सा च—

'श्रवणं कीर्तनं विष्णोः स्मरणं पादसेवनम् ।
अर्चनं वन्दनं दास्यं सख्यमात्मनिवेदनम् ॥' ७, ५, २३

अथैतया नवलक्षणया भक्त्या भगवत्प्राप्तिर्भवतीति च प्रतिपादितं तत्र । परन्तु विद्विषः शिशुपालस्य, इन्द्रप्रस्थे राजसूययज्ञे कृष्णेन विहतस्य, तद्देहोत्थितं ज्योतिः कथं वासुदेवमुपाविशत्, कथं वा तस्य भगवत्प्राप्तिर्जातेति प्रश्नस्य सुन्दरं समाधानं भागवते कृतम् । तथाहि—भगवत्प्राप्तये केनाप्युपायेन मनः खलु भगवन्मयं कर्तव्यमस्ति । तदपि भागवतमते वैरानुबन्धेन यथा सुकरं न तथा अन्येन केनाप्युपायेन । उक्तं च भागवते सप्तमस्कन्धे—

'यथा वैरानुबन्धेन मर्त्यस्तन्मयतामियात् ।
न तथा भक्तियोगेन इति मे निश्चिता मतिः ॥' ७, १, २६

अस्य मतस्य समर्थनाय एकं लौकिकमुदाहरणमपि दत्तम् । तद्धि

'कीटः पेशस्कृता रुद्धः कुड्यायां तमनुस्मरन् ।
संरम्भभययोगेन विन्दते तत्स्वरूपताम् ॥७,१,२७॥
एवं कृष्णे भगवति मायामनुज ईश्वरे ।
वैरेण पूतपाप्मानस्तमापुरनुचिन्तया ॥'७,१,२८

अथास्मिन्विषये काचित् शङ्का संजायते । तथा हि—यदि भगवन्निन्दया मुक्तिः संभवति, तर्हि वेनस्य कथं न मुक्तिः संजाता, कथं वा स द्विजैस्तमसि पातितः ? अस्य सन्देहस्य उत्तरमेतदेव यत् वेनस्य भगवन्निन्दा न तन्मयतामापादयत् । अतो न तस्य भगवत्प्राप्तिः समभवत् ।

श्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतीपादेन तु भक्तिरसायने भगवद्भावनया द्रुतस्य चित्तस्य भगवद्रूपता एव भक्तिरिति सिद्धान्तितम् । अत एव तन्मते तन्मयतासम्पादकानां द्वेषादीनामपि भक्तिपदवाच्यतैवास्ति । उक्तं च तेन—

'द्रुतस्य भगवद्धर्माद् धारावाहिकतां गता ।
सर्वेशे मनसो वृत्तिर्भक्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥'१,३

(च) अथान्यद् वैशिष्ट्यं तु भागवतस्य नाममाहात्म्यदर्शनम् । अस्य नामोपासनस्य विधानम्—

'ओमित्यक्षरमुद्गीथमुपासीत' इत्यादि श्रुतौ छान्दोग्योपनिषदि (१,४,१) दृश्यते । अस्या एव श्रुतेर्भाष्यं गीतायाम्—

'अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।'९,२२
'अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः ।'८।१४
'तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर युध्य च ।'८।७
'सततं कीर्तयन्तो मां यतन्तश्च दृढव्रताः ।
नमस्यन्तश्च मां भक्त्या नित्ययुक्ता उपासते' ॥९,१४

इत्यादिस्मृत्या विहितम् ।

अथ भागवते तु अस्यैव नामस्मरणविधानस्य भाष्यं न केवलं वाक्येन कृतम्, अपि तु उदाहरणोपन्यासेन सुस्थापितम् । तत्तु अजामिलकथया । अयं हि अजामिलो मृत्युकाले उपस्थिते, नारायणनामधेयस्य पुत्रस्य नामोच्चारणप्रभावेण वैकुण्ठमवाप । तथा चोक्तं भागवते षष्ठस्कन्धे—

'दूरे क्रीडनकासक्तं पुत्रं नारायणाह्वयम् ।
प्लावितेन स्वरेणोच्चैराजुहावाकुलेन्द्रियः ।६,१,२९
निशम्य म्रियमाणस्य ब्रुवतो हरिकीर्तनम् ।
भर्तुर्नाम महाराज, पार्षदाः सहसाऽपतन् ॥६,१,३०

एवं च यथा कश्चित् वीर्यवदौषधमजानन्नपि सेवमानो रोगात् मुक्तो भवति तथा अज्ञानादपि विष्णुनामोच्चारणेन जनः पापात् मुच्यते । उक्तं च भागवते षष्ठस्कन्धे—

अज्ञानादथवा ज्ञानादुत्तमश्लोकनाम यत् ।
संकीर्तितमघं पुंसो दहेदेधो यथानलः ॥६,२,१८
यथाऽगदं वीर्यतममुपयुक्तं यदृच्छया ।
अज्ञानतोऽप्यात्मगुणं कुर्यान्मन्त्रोऽप्युदाहृतः ॥'६,२,१९

(छ) अन्यत् प्रकृष्टतमं वैशिष्ट्यं तु भागवतस्य अद्यत्वे अप्रचलितवैदिक-शब्दप्रयोगः वैदिकव्याकरणमात्रसिद्धपदप्रयोगश्च । तथा हि—

भागवते विष्णुसूक्तस्य पुरुषसूक्तस्य च महान्प्रभावो दृश्यते । एवं च ऋग्वेदस्य विष्णुसूक्ते (१,१५४, १–६) 'उरुगायाय वृष्णे, त्रेधोरुगायः' 'उरुक्रमस्य स हि बन्धुरित्था', 'त्रिषु विक्रमणेषु' 'पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि', इत्यादिप्रयोगाः समवलोक्यन्ते । अत्र उरुशब्दस्य महदर्थे बह्वर्थे अत्यधिकार्थे वा, एवं च विक्रमशब्दस्य पादप्रक्षेपार्थे, रजःशब्दस्य च लोकार्थे प्रयोगो वर्तते ।

भागवतेऽपि उरुगायशब्दस्य, उरुक्रमशब्दस्य, विक्रमशब्दस्य लोकार्थरजः-शब्दस्य च भूयान्प्रयोगो दरीदृश्यते । तथा हि भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे—

'बिले बतोरुक्रमविक्रमान् ये
न शृण्वतः कर्णपुटे नरस्य ।
जिह्वाऽसती दार्दुरिकेव सूत
न चोपगायत्युरुगायगाथाः ॥'२,३,२०

अपि च—

'पार्थिवान्यपि कविर्विममे रजांसि ॥'२,७,४०

एवं च श्रवःशब्दस्य, अदभ्रशब्दस्य, गोपीथशब्दस्य, अपीच्यशब्दस्य च वेदे बहुशः प्रयोगो लभ्यते ।

तथा हि ऋग्वेदे—

'प्र सोमासो मदच्युतः
श्रवसे नो मघोनः ।'९,३२,१
'देवा अदभ्राशवो यमादित्या
अहेतनानेहसो व ऊतयः ।'८,४७,६
'गोपीथाय प्रहूयसे ।'१,१९,१
तदस्यानीकमुत चारु नामापीच्यं
वर्धते नप्तुरपाम् ।'२,३५,११

भागवतेऽपि श्रवोऽदभ्रगोपीथापीच्यशब्दानां भूयान्प्रयोगो दरीदृश्यते। कुत्रापि चैषां भिन्नार्थत्वमप्यवलोक्यते।

तथा हि—

'अथ तं सुखमासीन उपासीनं बृहच्छ्रवाः।' १, ५, १

'पश्यन्त्यदो रूपमदभ्रचक्षुषा।' १, ३, ४

'शुचिस्मिताः कोऽयमपीच्यदर्शनः।' १०, ४७, २

परन्तु वेदे 'गोपीथाय' इत्यस्य 'सोमपानाय' इत्यर्थः। अपीच्यं च अन्तर्हितनाम। भागवते तु गोपीथाय रक्षणाय इत्यर्थः, अपीच्यमुत्तममिति।

अथ वेदे 'सुपां सुलुगि'त्यादिना पाणिनेः सूत्रेण सप्तम्या लुग् भवति, तुमर्थे च 'सेसेन्' इत्यादि सूत्रेण कर्तवे, कर्तवै चेत्यादयश्च प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते। यथा—

'यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्' (ऋग्वेदः १०, १२९, ७) इति,

'अवासृजत्सर्तवे सप्त सिन्धून्' (ऋग्वेदः २, १२, १२) इति च।

तथा भागवतेऽपि

'सर्वं क्षणेन तदभूदसदीशरिक्तं
भस्मन् हुतं कुहकराद्धमिवोप्तमूष्याम्।' १, १५, २१

'आत्मन् यदृच्छया प्राप्तं विबुभूषुरुपाददे।' २, ५, २१

'सर्वे वियुक्ताः स्वविहारतन्त्रं
न शक्नुमस्तत् प्रतिहर्तवे ते।' ३, ५, ४७

अत्र सप्तम्या लुकि भस्मन् आत्मन् इति तुमर्थे च प्रतिहर्तवे इति च प्रयोगः।

इत्थं भागवतस्य रचयिता न केवलं महान् भक्तः कविः अपि तु महान् वैदिक इति निर्विवादमेव। अद्य मया तु भागवतस्य केवलानि इमानि वैशिष्ट्यान्यधिकृत्य किंचित् कथितम्। पुनरप्यस्मिन्विषये स्वाध्यायार्थं महती समीहा वरीवृत्यते, अद्य तु अत्रैव विरम्यते।

THE DATE OF THE PURĀṆAS

BY

SHIVADATTA GYANI

(Continued from Vol I, No. 2)

[प्रतिपाद्यविषयदृष्ट्या पुराणविषयाणां कालक्रमेण चत्वारः स्तराः संभवितुमर्हन्ति १. आख्यान-वंश स्तरः (वैदिक कालादारभ्य महाभारतकालपर्यन्तम्), २. भविष्य- वंशावलीवर्णनस्तरः (महाभारतकालाद् ई० पू० पञ्चशतकपर्यन्तम्) ३. पञ्चलक्षणस्तरः (ई० पू० पञ्चशतकादारभ्यख्रिस्ताब्दारम्भपर्यन्तम्) ४. साम्प्रदायिको विश्वकोशरूपात्मको वा स्तरः (ख्रिस्ताब्दस्यारम्भात् ख्रिस्तीयसप्तम शतकपर्यन्तम्) । पुराणवाङ्मयस्य एष एव कालविभाग उचित इत्यत्र सयुक्ति प्रतिपादितः]

A critical survey of the contents of the various Purāṇas throws interesting light on the process of development through which the Purāṇic literature had to pass before it assumed its extant form. The contents of the Purāṇas when analysed may be placed under the following heads :—

(i) Ākhyāna, (ii) genealogical accounts, (iii) cosmogony, (iv) mythology, (v) Varṇāśrama Dharma, ((vi) Yuga Dharma, (vii) Śrāddhas and other rituals, (viii) religion and philosophy, (ix) Bhakti-cult-incarnations of Vishṇu, Tīrtha-Māhātmya, (x) miscellaneous—rhetoric, palmistry, astronomy, etc.

An outer glance at the extant Purāṇas would show that the Purāṇas generally treat of sectarianism, and are, more or less, religious glosses for expounding the cult of Bhakti with reference to a particular deity, generally either Vishṇu or Śiva with their different epithets. The Purāṇas in which the sectarian matter is found in a predominant degree may belong to a later period and those in which the sectarian matter does not predominate may be regarded as earlier. The earlier Purāṇic scholars like Wilson[1] and others[2] confined their efforts mostly

1. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. I, Preface, p. V.
2. Col. Vans Vennedy : *Researches into the Nature and affinity of ancient and Hindu mythology*, p. 153.

to the upper surface of sectarian matter and consequently failed to judge the Purāṇic literature in the right historical and chronological setting. This is also responsible to a great extent for their assigning the Purāṇas to a very late date. With a few exceptions sectarianism is the dominant characteristic of most of the Purāṇas, while the Upa-purāṇas are wholly devoted to it. Besides, there are several Māhātmyas, sometimes forming independent works, which are purely sectarian. Hence, it may be inferred that the addition of sectarian matter to the Purāṇic literature represents the last instalment of extraneous matter being introduced into that popular literature, and this may easily be regarded as the last phase of the development of the Purāṇic literature.

With the advent of Mahāyānism on the eve of the Christian era, when the cultural effect of the contact with the Indo-Bactrians, at least in the domain of art, was being felt, the cult of Bhakti was coming into great prominence on the religious horizon of India. The adoption of the Bhakti cult by the Kushāṇas, Śakas, Guptas and the Hūṇas during the first six centuries of the Christian era clearly indicates the great popularity that the cult had attained. And most of the sectarian matter that is found in the extant Purāṇas, may, naturally, have been added during this period. This process may have continued from the first to the seventh century of the Christian era, when a definite reference is made to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* in Bāṇa's works.[1] The *Vāyu* Purāṇa referred to by Bāṇa may, perhaps, be the earlier recension of the extant *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.

Thus in the light of the facts stated above, it may be

1. *Harshacharita* (edited by Jivanand Vidyasagar, fourth Edition, Calcutta, 1939) p. 238. "गीत्या पवनप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ। ......हर्षचरिताद् भिन्नं प्रतिभाति हि मे पुराणमिदम् ॥" *ibid.* p. 240; "सकलपुराणराजर्षिचरिताभिज्ञा" *ibid.* pp. 242, 247.—In these pages references are made to certain important incidents connected with the Ākhyānas of Purāṇas, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Sudyumna, Māndhātā, Purukutsa, Kuvalayāśva, Prithu, Nriga, Saudāsa, Saṁvaraṇa, etc. which occur in some of the extant Purāṇas also.

inferred that the beginning of the Christian era witnessed a great change in the religious life of India, and the cult of Bhakti became the pivot of Hinduism.[1] The worship of Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva and several other deities became a prominent feature of the religious life. And this cult of Bhakti could not fail to find its place in the Purāṇic literature, which came to be regarded as a common heritage. The devotees of the various deities began to supplement the Purāṇic literature with the accounts of the glories of their particular deities resulting in the growth of this literature and giving it a sectarian tinge. Thus the period of the Mahāpurāṇas was ushered in, when the old *Pañca-lakshaṇa*[2] definition was found inadequate and replaced by the *Daśa-lakshaṇa*[3] theory, and the Purāṇas came to be named after a particular deity. This phase of the development of the purāṇic literature constituting its uppermost layer and being predominantly sectarian, may, easily, be termed as the sectarian stage of development of the Purāṇic literature. By this time, several other topics may also have been added on to this literature, thus making it encyclopædic in its form. Hence, this stage of development of the Purāṇic literature during A. D. 100 and A. D. 700 may be called *Sectarian or Encyclopædic.*[4]

Another important layer of the Purāṇic literature, coming next to the uppermost layer of sectarianism, consists of cosmogonical accounts, Manu-periods, philosophical speculation and such other accounts. A thorough examination of the contents of the Purāṇas reveals how Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines in their crude form are described in the earlier Purāṇas The influence of these doctrines may definitely be traced even to other Purāṇas. Besides, customary law almost amounting to social code, ritualism etc. may be traced to Varṇāśram Dharma, Yuga Dharma, Śrāddha-kalpa etc. This matter pertaining to

1. Wilson: *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. XI-XIII, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, No. 6 (Sept. 1942) pp. 131-135;
2. *Amarakośa*, I, 6, 5.
3. *Brahmavaivarta*, IV, 133, 6-9, *Bhāgavata*, XII, 7, 9-10.
4. *New Indian Antiquary*. Vol. V, No. 6, (Sept 1942), pp. 131-135.

philosophy and Dharmaśāstra may easily constitute the second important layer coming next to the uppermost. As a result of careful sorting of the Purāṇic contents, the second layer representing philosophic and Dharmaśastra matter may easily be traced to most of the Purāṇas.

The sixth century B.C. was a period of great philosophical speculation and religious upheaval in northern India.[1] Men's minds were directed towards the ways and means of liberating the soul from its bondage. These philsophic tendencies together with the speculative thought about the creation of the universe and the human beings could easily creep into the Purāṇic literature, thus opening a new page in the history of the development of that literature. This stage of development of the Purāṇic literature may rightly be assigned to a period between the 6th century B.C. and the commencement of the Christian era.[2] This phase of Purāṇic development marks a new orientation of the conception of Purāṇa, which originally comprised genealogies, Ākhyānas and such other topics. A critical examination of the *Pañcha Lakshaṇa*[3] definition would suggest that with the addition of various other topics the original form of the Purāṇa was transformed, hence a definition was necessitated to fix up the connotation of the word. This is how the *Pañcha Lakshaṇa* definition may be accounted for. Thus, it may be remarked that the changes that had crept into the Purāṇic literature were responsible for giving rise to the *Pañcha-Lakshaṇa* definition. Hence, this phase of the development of the Purāṇic literature may conveniently be called *Pañcha Lakshaṇa stage*.[4]

The Third layer in the Purāṇic literature, which marks an important landmark in the development of that literature,

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 150.
2. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, No. 6 (Sept. 1942) pp. 134-135.
3. *Amarakośa* I, 6, 5 : "पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्—पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणे...... ॥ पञ्चलक्षणान्यस्य । 'सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च । भूम्यादेश्चैव संस्थानं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।' क्वचिदिह पाठान्तरम् ॥ द्वे 'व्यासादिप्रणीतमत्स्यपुराणादेः ।"
4. *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, No. 6. (Sept. 1942), pp. 134-135,

may be said to be represented by the *Bhavishya* account in the extant Purāṇas. It may be noted in this connection that the Purāṇas in their genealogical accounts resort to the use of the future tense for describing the kings of the post-Bhārata war period. This use of the future tense may be explained on the assumption, as the tradition would have it, that Vyāsa, the author of the Purāṇas, as a *Ṛishi* could easily, foretell the events of the post-Bhārata war period. But there is some hidden meaning of great historical and cultural import lurking behind the traditional explanation. In the words of Wilsom.[1] "He (i.e. Vyāsa) was the head of a college or school under whom various learned men gave to the sacred literature of the Hindus the form in which it now presents itself." Vyāsa's efforts may best be understood when it is realised that the Bhārat war was a great catastrophe for the Hindus and their culture; those who survived deemed it necessary to preserve all that was best in the past, thus giving a final shape to all the traditional lore, whether Brahmaṇic or Kshatriya, which had perhaps, already assumed a literary form; henceforth the canon was closed.

The closure of the canon led to the bifurcation of the Purāṇic literature. The traditions about the kingly heroes subsequent to the great war had to be preserved, as the popular taste might have demanded it, but the last word on the Purāṇic literature was already written by Kṛshṇa Dvaipāyana, the Vyāsa. So a device was found out and the Purāṇic compilation began to be supplemented with fresh traditions about post-Bhārata war events described as occurring in future, so that the sanctity of old authorship may not be polluted, on the other hand, it (sanctity) may, even, be enhanced by ascribing prophetic insight to the last compiler, a veritable sage. In course of time this supplementary addition grew in bulk and came to be regarded as an independent compilation by itself. Thus came into existence a *Bhavishyat Purāṇa*, a contradiction in term, to which perhaps a reference is made in the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*.[2] That the *Bhavishya* account

1. *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, Preface, pp. XVI-XVIII
2. II,9, 24, 36.

in the Purāṇas begins with the post-Bhārata war period kings lends support to this view and suggests that in the Purāṇic literature post-Bhārata war period was invariably called *Bhavishya* as Pargiter also infers.[1] The *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, according to Bühler, cannot be later than the 3rd cent. B. C. and a century and a half or two earlier.[2] Thus at least a century or two may have elapsed before the *Bhavishyat-purāṇa* (referred to in the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*) attained the position of Dharmaśāstra. It may be inferred that about the 6th century B.C., the *Bhavishyat purāṇa* had branched off from the original Purāṇa. The process of bifurcation starting after the Bhārata war attained its finality about the 6th century B. C. This phase of development of the Purāṇic literature may dimly be discerned in the extant Purāṇas when they describe in prophetic language the post-Bhārata war period kings. This phase of the Purāṇic development may rightly be termed *Bifurcation Stage* of the development of the Purāṇic literature, which may roughly be assigned to a period between c. B. C. 1000 or 950, the probable date of Bhārata war and c. B. C. 500.[3]

After going through the three layers of the Purāṇic contents representing different phases of Purāṇic development, the last or the lowest layer is reached which comprises the genealogical accounts of the old kings and the sages and the various Ākhyānas lying interspersed in the various Purāṇas. The Ākhyānas and the genealogical accounts cannot be very old as far as their form is concerned, for the linguistic garb in which they are wrapped is of very late origin. But the matter, that may be discerned behind the comparatively modern linguistic wrapper, is of great consequence; for in it are enshrined the memories of the great heroes and sages of the ancient past. In the light of this, it is easy to assess the historical value of the Ākhyānas occurring in the Purāṇas. They revolve round the kernel of a great

1. *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 53-45.
2. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. II p. 43.
3. Pargiter discusses the date of the Bhārata war in all its details and fixes B. C. 950 as the probable date of the war. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 179-183.

historical event of the ancient past. So the historicity of the various Purāṇic Ākhyānas about the heroic kings e.g. Purūravas and Urvaśī, Yayāti, Hariśchandra, Rāma, Jamadagni, Arjuna, Kārtavīrya etc. may well be established. Thus the last layer of the Purāṇic contents comprise the old Akhyānas and the genealogical accounts, and these may well represent the original form of the *Purāṇa* in the literary garb. This stage of Purāṇic development may be called *Ākhyāna-Vaṁśa Stage.*[1]

In the light of the facts stated above, it may be concluded that the Purāṇic literature passed through a long period of development before it assumed its extant multifarious form. The extant Purāṇas are poles apart from their counterparts at the period when the *Pañcha-lakshaṇa* definition was formulated, or from the *Purāṇa* as it was originally composed. This development of the Purāṇic literature falls under four stages which may be assigned to different chronological epochs as under :—

I *Ākhyāna-Vaṁśa stage*— from the early Vedic period to the end of the Bhārata war (*circa* B.C. 1200 to c. B.C. 950)

II *Bifurcation Stage*— from c. B.C. 950 to c. B.C. 500

III *Pañca-Lakshaṇa Stage*— from c. B.C. 500 to the beginning of the christian era.

IV *Sectarian or Encyclopaedic Stage* — from the beginning of the Christian era to c. A. D. 700.

This is how the riddle of the Date of the Purāṇas may be solved by explaining the course of development of the Purāṇic literature through four stages as stated above, when the *Purāṇas* being originally one dealing with old tales, anecdotes, genealogical accounts etc. came to be multiplied, and to-day the Purāṇas are eighteen in number, besides the same number or even more of the Upa-Purāṇas and several

1. A glimpse of this stage may be discerned in the memorable Purāṇic verse :—*Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 6, 15 : आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पशुद्धिभिः । पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥

Māhātmyas as also other accounts of mythological interest. The four stages of development may be assigned to definite chronological periods representing important epochs in the evolution of ancient Indian culture. A critical analysis of the Purāṇic contents shows how most of the Purāṇas embody matter pertaining to the chronological periods with reference to the four stages of development of the Purāṇic literature.

पुराणचयनम्

महास्थाणुः

[वामनपुराण अ० ४३]

योऽसावात्मनि देहेऽस्मिन् विभुर्नित्यो व्यवस्थितः ॥७९॥

सोऽनादिः स महास्थाणुः पृथक्त्वे परिसूचितः ।
मणिर्यथोपधानेन धत्ते वर्णोज्ज्वलोऽपि वै ॥८०॥

तन्मयो भवते तद्वदात्माऽपि मनसा कृतः ।
मनसो भेदमाश्रित्य कर्मभिश्चोपचीयते ॥८१॥

ततः कर्मवशाद् भुङ्क्ते यद् भोगान् स्वर्गनारकान् ।
तन्मनः शोधयेद् धीमान् ज्ञानयोगमुपक्रमैः ॥८२॥

तस्मिन्शुद्धे ह्यन्तरात्मा स्वयमेव निराकुलः ।
न शरीरस्य संक्लेशैरपि निर्दहनात्मकः ॥८३॥

शुद्धिमाप्नोति पुरुषः संशुद्धं यस्य नो मनः ॥८४॥

लिङ्गपुराणस्य कालनिर्णयः

वि० वा० परांजपे

[In this article it is shown that the Liṅga-purāṇa contains a large variety of subjects, and seems to have continued to be compiled for several centuries. According to Dr. Hazra and Hara Prasad Shastri, the date of the compilation of the Liṅga Purāṇa may fall between the seventh and the tenth centuries A. D. Alberuni has also referred to this Purāṇa, so it must have been compiled before the 11th century. In the Liṅga Purāṇa there is the mention of Nakulīśa as an Avatāra, and the Vāyu Purāṇa also mentions him as an Avatāta. In the 9th chapter of the first part of the Liṅga Purāṇa, there are many references to Yogic practices, which sometimes agree word by word with those given in the Vyāsa Bhāshya of the Yoga Sūtras. Vyāsa flourished in the sixth century A. D. So the seventh century A. D. may be fixed as the earliest date of the extant Liṅga Purāṇa.]

संस्कृतग्रन्थानां कालनिर्णयः खलु जटिला समस्या। यतो हि विरला एव एतादृशाः संस्कृतग्रन्थकर्तारः ये स्वीयेषु ग्रन्थेषु स्वकीयमितिवृत्तं ग्रन्थरचनाकालं वा निर्दिशन्ति। एककविकृतीनां काव्यनाटकादीनामपि कालनिर्णये अत्यन्तं काठिन्यमनुभवन्ति विद्वांसः। तत्र किमु वक्तव्यं सूतादिभिः वंशपरम्परया विरचितानां शतकानुशतकं पौराणिकैरपि परिवर्धितानां सर्वविषयसंग्राहकाणां पुराणानां विषये।

साधारणं पुराणलक्षणमिति प्रायः उल्लिखन्ति पद्यमिदम्।

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्॥

इदानीमुपलभ्यमानेषु पुराणेषु दशांशोऽपि उपरिनिर्दिष्टलक्षणगतविषयैः व्याप्तो न स्यात्। विचारणीयतया स्वीकृतस्य लिङ्गपुराणस्य विषयविभागमेव स्पष्टीकरणार्थं उपस्थापयामि।

लिङ्गपुराणे वर्तन्ते पूर्वार्धे अष्टोत्तरशतमध्यायाः। तत्र षोडशसु अध्यायेषु वर्तन्ते पुराणस्य पञ्चलक्षणान्तर्भूतानां सृष्ट्यादीनां प्रतिपादनम्। उत्तरार्धे सन्ति पञ्चचत्वारिंशदध्यायाः येषु सर्गादीनां अंशतोऽपि संबन्धो नास्ति।

यदि निक्षिपामो वयमापाततः पुराणेऽस्मिन् वर्णितेषु विविधेषु विषयेषु दृष्टिं आश्चर्यभूता एव भवामः। पुराणेऽस्मिन् वर्तते जीवच्छ्राद्धविधिः। सन्ति च विस्तरेण वर्णितानि लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठादीनि। अस्ति च सविस्तरमुपनिबद्धा लिङ्गपूजा वैदिकी पूर्वार्धे तान्त्रिकी चोत्तरार्द्धे। भस्मोद्धूलनविधिः, स्नानविधिः, शिवप्रासाद-निर्माणविधिः, इत्यादीनां विधीनामपि प्रपञ्चः पुराणेऽस्मिन् कृतः। विद्यते चात्र शिवसहस्रनामद्वयम्। दशाधिकानि च सन्ति लघुस्तोत्राणि। वर्णितानि च विविधानि व्रतान्यत्र। सन्ति च नैकानि महादानानि साङ्गान्युपवर्णितानि। यदि उपरि-निर्दिष्टविषयाणां नामान्यवलोकयतः कस्यचन भ्रमः स्यात् किमिदं लिङ्गपुराणं धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थो वा आचारग्रन्थो वा इति नैतदाश्चर्यकरं स्यात्।

इतोऽपि विविधान् विषयानत्रपुराणे उपलभामहे। वर्ततेऽत्र योगशास्त्र-प्रक्रिया। अस्ति च कापिलं सांख्यज्ञानम्। वर्तन्ते च नैकाः कथाः शिवमाहात्म्यप्रतिपादिकाः। सन्ति च वाराणस्यादिक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यानि। वर्तन्ते च शिवावतारवर्णनादीनि। तत्रापि च पश्चिमभारतभागप्रसिद्धस्य नकुलीशस्य अवताररूपेण वर्णनं विशेषतः उल्लेखनीयं भवति।

विषयाणामेतेषां आपाततः क्रियमाणेऽपि पर्यालोचने स्पष्टमिदं ज्ञायते यत् नैव खलु लिखितं स्याद् एतत् पुराणं केनचन एकेन ग्रन्थकृता। किन्तु कतिपयशतकानि यावत् पुराणस्यास्य संग्रथनं अनुवृत्तमासीद् इति अवश्यं स्वीकर्तव्यमेव। पूर्वार्धे वैदिकः पूजाविधिः एव केवलमुपदिष्टः। गच्छता कालेन यदा तान्त्रिकविधिवर्चस्वं भारते सुस्थिरमभूत् तदा पुराणेऽस्मिन् केनापि सूतपरम्पराप्राप्तेन पौराणिकेन वा केनापि तत्कालोपयोगित्वेनावश्यकः

तान्त्रिकपूजाविधिरपि लिङ्गस्य उपनिबद्धः निवेशितश्चोत्तरार्धे इति अवश्यमङ्गीकरणीयम्। एतावता बहुकालपर्यन्तं पुराणस्यास्य रचना अनुवृत्ता आसीद् इति सिद्धमेव।

पुराणस्यास्य कालनिर्णयविषये प्राध्यापक Hazra महोदयेन विमर्शः कृतः। तस्याशयस्तु एतादृशः—'पुराणेऽस्मिन् वर्तते उल्लेखः नक्षत्राणामश्विनीप्रभृतीनां, ग्रहाणां सूर्यादीनां, अवताराणां बुद्धकल्क्यन्तानां, राशीनां च मेषादीनां। अत एव च एतावत् निश्चयेन वक्तुं शक्नुमो यत् ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य सप्तमशतकात् पूर्वं नास्य लिङ्गपुराणस्य रचना आसीदिति। तथैव च भारतस्य विविधेषु प्रान्तेषु समुत्पन्नाः नैके धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धकाराः यान् यान् श्लोकान् लिङ्गपुराणगतान् समुद्धरन्ति तान् श्लोकान् अधिगच्छामो वयं मुद्रिते लिङ्गपुराणे। एतावता ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य दशमशतकसमये लिङ्गपुराणस्य रचना तावत् परिपूर्णा अवश्यमेवासीत् इति।'

तथैव च हरप्रसादशास्त्रिभिः पुराणहस्तलिखितसूचीग्रन्थस्य प्रस्तावनायामपि विमर्शः कृतः लिङ्गपुराणस्य कालनिर्णये। तेषामाशयस्तु इत्थम्:—'Al Beruṇi महोदयेन ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य १०३० तमे वर्षे लिङ्गपुराणस्योल्लेखः कृतः। नारदपुराणे च यद् वर्णनं लिङ्गपुराणस्य तत् प्रचलितेन मुद्रितेन लिङ्गपुराणेन संगच्छते। नारदपुराणं च ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य नवमशताब्द्यां लिखितम्। तेन च ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य नवमशतकात् प्राचीनं लिङ्गपुराणमिति अवश्यं स्वीकर्तव्यं। नकुलीशस्य अवतारत्वेन वर्णनं लिङ्गपुराणे उपलभ्यते। नकुलीशावतारः वायुपुराणेऽपि उल्लिखितो भवति। वायुपुराणस्य च कालः सप्तमशताब्दी। एवं च लिङ्गपुराणं ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य सप्तमे अष्टमे वा शतके उपनिबद्धं स्यादिति।

लिङ्गपुराणस्य पूर्वार्धे नवमाध्याये योगप्रक्रिया उपवर्णिता। प्रसङ्गेन च तेन योगान्तरायलक्षणानि विभूतिलक्षणानि च सन्ति उपनिबद्धानि। पातञ्जलयोगसूत्रे समाधिपादे त्रिंशत्तमेन सूत्रेण 'व्याधिस्त्यानसंशयप्रमादालस्याविरतिभ्रान्तिदर्शनालब्धभूमिकत्वानवस्थितत्वानि चित्तविक्षेपाः तेऽन्तरायाः' पा०यो०सू० (१-३०) इति योगान्तरायाः कथिताः। 'दुःखदौर्मनस्याङ्गमेजयत्वश्वासप्रश्वासा विक्षेपसहभुवः' (पा०यो०सू० ३-३१) इत्यनेन सूत्रेण योगान्तरायसहकारिणां दुःखदौर्मनस्या-

दीनां विमर्शः कृतः। 'ततः प्रातिश्रावणवेदनादर्शास्वादवार्ता जायन्ते' (पा०यो०सू० ३-३६) इत्यत्र च विभूतयः प्रदर्शिताः। तथैव योगसूत्रस्य व्यासविरचिते भाष्ये एतेषां योगान्तराणां विभूतीनां च लक्षणानि उपनिबद्धानि। लिङ्गपुराणगतानि व्यासभाष्यगतानि च लक्षणानि सम्पूर्णतया एकरूपाणि सन्ति इति मामकीनः अभिप्रायः। वाचकानां सौकर्याय वामतो लिङ्गपुराणगतानि दक्षिणतश्च व्यासभाष्यगतानि लक्षणानि निर्दिष्टानि सन्ति।

लिङ्गपुराणे	व्यासभाष्ये*
१. व्याधिः—व्याधयो धातुवैषम्यात् कर्मजा दोषजास्तथा। (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ४)	१. व्याधिर्धातुकरणरसवैषम्यम्। (पृ. ३४ पं. ७)
२. संशयः—इदं वेत्युभयस्पृक्तं विज्ञानं स्थानसंशयः। (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ५)	२. संशय उभयकोटिस्पृग्विज्ञानं स्यादिदमेवं नैवं स्यादिति। (पृ. ३४ पं. ८-९)
३. प्रमादः-प्रमादस्तु समाधेस्तु साधनानाम भावनम्। (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ५)	३. प्रमादः समाधिसाधनानामभावनम्। (पृ. ३४ पं. ९-१०)
४. आलस्यं-आलस्यं चाप्रवृत्तिश्चगुरुत्वात् कार्यचित्तयोः। (पू. अ. ९ श्लो ३)	४. आलस्यं कायस्य चित्तस्य च गुरुत्वादप्रवृत्तिः। (पृ. ३४ पं. १०-११)
५. भ्रान्तिदर्शनं—विपर्ययज्ञानमिति भ्रान्तिदर्शनमुच्यते। (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ७)	५. भ्रान्तिदर्शनं विपर्ययज्ञानम्। (पृ ३४ पं. १२)
६. अनवस्थितत्वं :—अनवस्थितचित्तत्वं अप्रतिष्ठा हि योगिनः। लब्धायामपि भूमौ च चित्तस्यभवबन्धनात्। (पू. अ ९ श्लो. ५-६)	६. अनवस्थितचित्तत्त्वं लब्धायां भूमौ चित्तस्याप्रतिष्ठा। (पृ. ३४ पं. १३-१४)

* Reference to pages according to the edition of Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.

७. दुःखं–दुःखमाध्यात्मिकं प्रोक्तं तथा चैवादिभौतिकम् । आधिदैविकमित्युक्तं त्रिविधः सहजः पुनः ॥ (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ८-९)	७. दुःखमाध्यात्मिकमाधिभौतिकमाधिदैविकं च । (पृ. ३५ पं. ३)
८. दौर्मनस्यं–इच्छाविघातात् संक्षोभः चेतसः तदुदाहृतं दौर्मनस्यम् । (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ९)	८. दौर्मनस्यमिच्छाविघातात् चेतसः क्षोभः । (पृ. ३५ पं. ४-५)
९. प्रातिभम्–सूक्ष्मे व्यवहितेऽतीते विप्रकृष्टे त्वनागते । सर्वत्र सर्वदा ज्ञानं प्रतिभानुक्रमेणतु ॥ (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. १७-१८)	९. प्रातिभात् सूक्ष्मव्यवहितविप्रकृष्टातीतानागतज्ञानम् । (पृ. १५६ पं. ३)
१०. वेदना–स्पर्शस्याधिगमो यस्तु वेदना तूपपादिता । (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. १९)	१०. वेदनाद्दिव्यस्पर्शाधिगमः । (पृ. १५६ पं. ४)
११. दर्शना–दर्शना दिव्यरूपाणां दर्शनं-चाप्रयत्नतः । (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. २०)	११. आदर्शाद् दिव्यरूपसंपत् । (पृ. १५६ पं. ४-५)
१२. आस्वादः–दिव्यरसे तस्मिन् आस्वादो ह्यप्रयत्नतः । (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. २०)	१२. आस्वादाद्दिव्यरससंवित् । (पृ. १५६ पं. ५)
१३. वार्ता–वार्ता च दिव्यगन्धानां तन्मात्राबुद्धिसंविदा । (पू. अ. ९ श्लो. २१)	१३. वार्तातो दिव्यगन्धविज्ञानम् । (पृ. १५६ पं. ५-६)

यदि वाचकाः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया पश्येयुः उपर्युल्लिखितानि ग्रन्थद्वयान्तर्गतानि लक्षणानि तत्रत्यं सादृश्यं स्फुटीभवत्येव सहजतः । ततश्च एवं वक्तुं शक्यं केनापि एकेन अपरस्मात् ग्रन्थात् उद्धृताः सन्ति एते अंशाः इति ।

इतः परं एतदेव विमर्शनीयं कः खलु प्रणेता लक्षणानामेतेषां भवेत्

कश्चोद्धर्ता ग्रन्थान्तरादिति । मम तु अयमभिप्रायः यत् व्यासो भाष्यकार एव प्रणेता । लिङ्गपुराणकारश्च उद्धृतवान् तस्मादिति ! यतो हि योगसूत्रस्थानां विविधानां पदार्थानां लक्षणनिरूपणे बद्धकटिः व्यासो भाष्यकारः लिङ्गपुराणात् कानिचन लक्षणानि उद्धरेद् इति नैव संभवति । यदि वा उद्धरेत् पद्यमयान्येव स्थापयेत् । गद्ये विपरिणामं नैव कुर्यात् । लिङ्गपुराणात् स्वीकारे च व्यासो भाष्यकृत् स्वयमेव तत्र तादृशं उल्लेखं अवश्यं कुर्यात् लिङ्गपुराणात् स्वीकृतोऽयमंश इति ।

लिङ्गपुराणस्य तु सर्वसंग्राहकत्वं सुस्पष्टमेव । सन्त्यत्र बहवोंऽशाः ग्रन्थान्तरादुद्धृताः । सन्ति श्लोका मनुस्मृतेः । वर्तन्ते गीताश्लोकाः । विद्यन्ते उपनिषदंशाः । सन्ति च वंशानुवर्णनादीनि वायुपुराणादुपनिबद्धानि । एतावता ग्रन्थान्तरादुद्धरणं न अपरिचितं किन्तु साहजिकं स्वाभाविकं च लिङ्गपुराणकर्तुः । एवं च व्यासभाष्यगतानि गद्यलक्षणानि योगान्तरायाणां विभूतिनां च पद्यमयानि कृत्वा लिङ्गपुराणे उपनिबद्धानि इत्यत्र संदेह एव नास्ति ।

एतावता लिङ्गपुराणं व्यासभाष्योत्तरकालिकं इत्यत्र संदेहलेशोऽपि नास्ति । व्यासप्रणीते योगभाष्ये टीकां प्रणिनाय भगवान् वाचस्पतिमिश्रः । विविधशास्त्रेपु टीका :प्रणयन् वाचस्पतिमिश्रश्च ख्रिस्ताब्दस्याष्टमे शतके समभूत् । तेन च व्यासो भाष्यकारः ततः प्राचीनः इति निश्चितं । अन्यैश्च बहुभिः प्रमाणैः योगभाष्यकर्तुः व्यासस्य कालः ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य षष्ठं शतकं इति विद्वदङ्गीकृतोऽयं विषयः । तेन च लिङ्गपुराणस्य नवमोऽध्यायः सप्तमे शतके प्रणीतः स्यात् इति निर्धारयितुं शक्यते । ततश्च लिङ्गपुराणस्य Dr. Hazra महोदयेन हरप्रसादशास्त्रिभिश्च यः निर्धारितः कालः स समुचित एवेति वक्तुं शक्यम् ।

[भार्यामहिमा]

भर्तव्या रक्षितव्या च भार्या हि पतिना सदा ।
धर्मार्थकामसंसिद्धयै भार्या भर्तृसहायिनी ॥६८॥

यदा भार्या च भर्ता च परस्परवशानुगौ ।
तदा धर्मार्थकामानां त्रयाणामपि सङ्गतम् ॥६९॥

कथं भार्यामृते धर्ममर्थं वा पुरुषः प्रभो ।
प्राप्नोति काममथवा तस्यां त्रितयमाहितम् ॥७०॥

तथैव भर्तारमृते भार्या धर्मादिसाधने ।
न समर्था त्रिवर्गोऽयं दाम्पत्यं समुपाश्रितः ॥७१॥

देवतापितृभृत्यानामतिथीनाञ्च पूजनम् ।
न पुंभिः शक्यते कर्तुमृते भार्यां नृपात्मज ॥७२॥

प्राप्तोऽपि चार्थो मनुजैरानीतोऽपि निजं गृहम् ।
क्षयमेति विना भार्यां कुभार्यासंश्रयेऽपि वा ॥७३॥

कामस्तु तस्य नैवास्ति प्रत्यक्षेणोपलक्ष्यते ।
दम्पत्योः सहधर्मेण त्रयीधर्ममवाप्नुयात् ॥७४॥

पितॄन् पुत्रैस्तथैवान्नसाधनैरतिथीन् नरः ।
पूजाभिरमरांस्तद्वत् साध्वीं भार्यां नरोऽवति ॥७५॥

स्त्रियाश्चापि विना भर्त्रा धर्मकामार्थसन्ततिः ।
नैव तस्मात् त्रिवर्गोऽयं दाम्पत्यमधिगच्छति ॥७६॥

(Mārkaṇḍeya, ch. 21)

68. Verily a husband must ever cherish and protect his wife. A wife is her husband's help-mate unto the complete attainment of religious life, wealth and love (*Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma*).

69. When both husband and wife are subject to mutual control, then all the three, viz. moral life, wealth and love combine.

70. How without a wife, does a man attain to moral life, or wealth, or love, my lord ?

In her the triad of *Dharma, Artha, and Kāma* is established.

71. So also without a husband a wife is powerless to fulfil Dharma and the other duties.

This threefold group (*Trivarga*) is established in wedded life (*Dāmpatya*).

72. Men cannot perform the worship of the gods, ancestors, dependents and of guests, without a wife, O prince.

73. And riches, although acquired by men, although brought to their own home, waste away without a wife, or even where a worthless wife dwells.

74. There is indeed no love for him *without a wife*,— this is clearly evident. By the wedded pair treading together the path of duty (*Dharma*), men may attain to the ideal of *Trivarga* or the Triple Aims of life.

75. A man satisfies his ancestors by procreating children, and guests with preparations of food ; likewise the immortal gods with religious observances : therefore should a man protect his virtuous wife.

76. Moreover, for a woman there is no separate religion, love, wealth or offspring without a husband.

Hence the triple group of *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma* rests upon the wedded life of the home.

V. S. Agrawala

विष्णु-स्तोत्र-सूची

विष्णुस्तोत्राणि विष्णववतारस्तोत्राणि च*

रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

[A number of stotras of Vishṇu and His Avatāras are found in the Purāṇas, A list of these is given here. The Deity of a stotra is also indicated. Stotras in the form of शतनाम, सहस्रनाम are not included in this list.]

१. ब्रह्मपुराण (मोरसंस्करण)

५।६०-६७ विष्णु
४९।१-५९ ”
५१।१०-१६ ”
५५।११-३५ ”
५९।३४-७२ ”
६५।४९-५१ कृष्ण
७१।७-१२ विष्णु
१०९।४१-४२ ”
१२२।२९-४३ ”
१२२।६८-७३ ”
१२६।२४-२७ ”
१७८।११५-११८ विष्णु [ब्रह्मपारनामकं स्तोत्रम्]
१७८।१२९-१७७ विष्णु
१८०।१-१२ ” [नमस्कारात्मकं स्तोत्रम्]
१८१।२१-२५ विष्णु
१८५।३९-४२ कृष्ण
१८५।४४-४९ ”
१९२।४८-५८ ”
१९३।८०-९० ”
१९६।२५-४५ ”
२०३।६-१९ विष्णु
२१९।३१-३५ ”

२ विष्णुपुराण (जीवानन्दसंस्करण)

१।१।१-२ विष्णु [नमस्कारात्मकम्]
१।२।१-७ विष्णु [प्रणामात्मकम्]

* शतनाम सहस्रनामादीन्यपि क्वचित् स्तोत्रपदेनाभिधीयन्ते। एतेषां संकलनं नेह कृतम्। मन्त्ररूपाणां स्तुतीनां संकलनमपि चेह न कृतम्। अवतारनामनिर्णयो न सर्वत्र सुशकः।

१।४।१२-२४	वराह	३।१७।११-३४	,,
१।४।३१-४४	यज्ञवराह	५।१।३४-५०	,,
१।९।३९-६४	विष्णु	५।१।५४-५८	,,
१।९।६८-७४	,,	५।३।१०-१३	कृष्ण [स्तोत्रवत्]
१।१२।५३-७५	,,	५।७।४७-५६	कृष्ण
१।१४।२३-४३	,,	५।१८।४८-५८	,,
१।१५।५५-५८	,, [ब्रह्मपारस्तवः]	५।२०।८१-९१	,,
१।१९।६४-८६	विष्णु	५।३०।६-२३	विष्णु
१।२०।९-१३	,,		

३. नारदीयपुराण (वेंकटेश्वर संस्करण)

१।१।१-२	विष्णु [वन्दनात्मकम्]	१।१६।५४-६१	विष्णु
		१।१९।२२-३८	,,
१।२।९-११	विष्णु [नामात्मकम्]	१।३८।३-३८	,,
		१।६२।५०-६५	,,
१।२।२१–५५	विष्णु	२।२९।३९-४९	,,
१।४।५५-६३	,,	२।३२।२४-४२	,,
१।४।८२-८७	,,	२।५३।१०-६८	,,
१।५।३६-४४	,,	२।५४।८२-८७	,,
१।११।१९-३९	,,	२।५५।४४-४८	कृष्ण
१।११।७२-८१	वामन	२।६१।२-२३	राम-कृष्ण-सुभद्रा [पूजान्तर्गतम्]
१।११।८४-४८	,,		

४. मार्कण्डेय पुराण (जीवानन्दसंस्करण)

१।१-२	विष्णु	४।३६-३९	विष्णु [मङ्गलाचरणात्मकम्]

५. लिङ्गपुराण (जीवानन्दसंस्करण)

१।३६।४-१८ (विष्णु)	१।९४।११-१८ वराह
१।४२।३३-३४ ,,	२।५।३३-३७ विष्णु

६. गरुडपुराण [जीवानन्दसंस्करण]

१।१।१ विष्णु	१।२२३।१२-१७ नरसिंह
[वन्दनात्मकं स्तोत्रम्]	२।१।२ विष्णु
१।३१।२३-२७ विष्णु	
	[मङ्गलाचरणात्मकम्]

७. वामनपुराण (वेंकटेश्वर संस्करण)

३।१४-२३	विष्णु	८६।६७-११०	सारस्वत स्तोत्रम्
८।४८-५५	,,	८७।१-४७	विष्णु
२६।१ गद्य	,,		[पापप्रशमनस्तोत्रम्]
२७।१७-३६	,,	८८।२-२७	,,
३०।१८-३१	वामन	८९।३६-४१	वामन
८५।३२-६०	विष्णु	९३।९ गद्य	विष्णु
[गजेन्द्र मोक्षणस्तवः]		९४।१२-१८	,,

८. कूर्मपुराण (वेंकटेश्वर संस्करण)

१।१।६९-७९	विष्णु	१।१७।१९-२३	विष्णु
१।६।११-२९	वराह	२।४६।५४-६७	,,

९. वाराहपुराण (वेंकटेश्वर संस्करण)

१।२०-२८	विष्णु	८।४३-४९	,,
३।११-२०	ब्रह्मपारस्तवः	५५।३३-४३	,,
५।४९-५७	विष्णु	११।११-२१	,,
७।३१-४०	,,	१२।५-१४	,,

१५।९-२० ,,

३६।१२-२२ ,,

७३।१८-३८ ,,

११३।२-३ वराह

[मङ्गलाचरणात्मक]

११३।३७-६४ विष्णु

१४४।४४-५५ ,,

१३६।१४-१५ वराह

१६९।२३-२४ कृष्ण

१०. ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणम् (जीवा० सं०)

[अस्मिन् पुराणे विष्णुस्तुतयः बाहुल्येन कृष्णपरा एवेति ज्ञेयम्]

१।३।१०-१३ कृष्ण

१।३।२४-२९ ,,

१।३।३५-४० ,,

१।३।४५-५२ ,,

१।३।६०-६४ ,,

१।३।६८ ,,

१।३।७७-८४ ,,

१।४।४ ,,

१।१८।९-३५ ,,

[स्तवराजस्तोत्र]

३।७।१०९-१२७ कृष्ण

३।३२।२७-७४ ,,

४।४।६२-६७ विष्णु

४।७।५३-५७ ,,

४।७।८०-८८ ,,

४।१३।१९३-२१३ कृष्ण

४।१८।३६-४७ ,,

४।१९।१७-३१ ,,

४।१९।७३-९१ ,,

४।१९।१७१-१७६ ,,

४।२०।३७-५२ ,,

४।२१।१७६-१९६ ,,

४।२१।२०७-२२२ ,,

४।२२।३७-५७ ,,

४।२५।९०-१०३ विष्णु

४।२५।१२५-१३८ ,,

४।२६।८२-९२ कृष्ण

४।२७।१००-१०८ विष्णु

४।२९।४०-५१ ,,

४।३२।७२-८० ,,

४।६९।२३-२४ कृष्ण

४।६९।२९ ,,

[नमस्कारात्मकम्]

४।७०।५६-६५ कृष्ण

४।१००।१९-३२ ,,

४।१०७।८८-९१ ,,

४।११२।५१ ,,

४।११९।२३-६० विष्णु

४।१२४।१५-२० कृष्ण

४।१२७।१२-२८ „

११. वायुपुराणम्

अत्र विष्णुस्तुतिर्नोपलभ्यते ।

१२ पद्मपुराणम् (आनन्दाश्रम०)

१।१।१ विष्णु

[नमस्कारात्मकम्]

२।१८।१६-३५ विष्णु

२।१८।४४-६७ „

२।२०।१६-२२ कृष्ण

२।२१।२०-२८ „

२।३१।३१-५२ विष्णु

२।९८।३९-७७ वासुदेव

[वासुदेवाभिधानं स्तोत्रम्]

४।३।२७ राम

४।५।२-१० „

४।७।१८ विष्णु

४।२१।२०-२८ हरि

४।४२।२८-३५ विष्णु

४।८८।७२-८८ विष्णु

[पापप्रशमनस्तोत्रम्]

५।३।२६-३२ वराह

५।३।३८-४५ „

५।४।१०७-११२ विष्णु

५।४।११६-१३१ „

५।१४।१४०-१५४ „

५।४२।३०-३१ „

५।४३।१९०-१९३ नृसिंह

५।७३।९०-९९ विष्णु

६।४०।५७-६३ „

६।४१।१ „

[वन्दनात्मकम्]

६।७०।९-१० विष्णु

६।७४।१-१२ राम

[रामरक्षास्तोत्रम्]

६।८१।१४१-१४९ विष्णु

६।१००।२-४ „

६।१७३।४९-५५ „

६।२०८।३५-४३ विष्णु

६।२१७।३४-४१ „

६।२२२।४१-५४ विष्णु

६।२४९।७२-११९ „

६।२५७।८-१५ „

६।२६४।२०-२५ वराह

६।२६६।१४-२४ विष्णु

६।२७०।२४-४१ राम

६।२७२।४१-४३ कृष्ण

६।२७२।११०-१२४ „

६।२७२।१८९-२१३ ,,
६।२७२।३०६-३१६ विष्णु
६।२७२।३२३-३२७ कृष्ण
६।२७३।६१-६६ विणु
६।२७७।२७-५४ ,,
६।२८२।५३-८४ ,,

१३ ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम् (वेंकटेश्वर संस्करण)

१।२६।५-७ विष्णु
२।३७।१५-२४ कृष्ण

१४ स्कन्दपुराणम् (बंगवासि संस्करणम्)

(१ माहेश्वरखण्ड)

[अत्र केदारकुमारिकाऽरुणाचलखण्डाः]

के ७।१७ विष्णु
के ८।८७-९२ ,,
के ९।२९-३१ ,,
के ९।८१ ,,
के १३।९६-९७ ,,
के १८।२५ ,,
कु १९।४८ ,,

[नमस्कारात्मक]

कु ४२।१८७-२१८ विष्णु

(२ विष्णुखण्ड)

[अत्र वेंकटाचल-पुरुषोत्तम-बदरिकाश्रम-कार्तिकमास-वैशाखमास-अयोध्याखण्डाः]

वे ३८।२६-३० विष्णु
वे १।८५-९२ वराह
वे २०।७५-८३ विष्णु
वे २१।१६-२१ ,,
वे २३।१२-१८ विष्णु
पु ५।२०-३३ ,,
पु ५।३४-४७ ,,
पु ८।२१-३१ ,,
पु ९।४९-५२ ,,
पु ११।१८-२५ ,,
पु १२।५३-५९ ,,
पु २।१७-३१ ,,
पु ३।१७-२६ ,,
पु १५।३६-४५ ,,
पु १०।४८-५२ ,,
पु १६।३९-५२ ,,
पु १७।६६-७६ ,,
पु २०।२-२४ ,,
पु २४।२ ,,
पु २४।५-२४ ,,
पु २७।१५।३८ जगन्नाथ
पु २७।८६-८८ विष्णुः

पु २८।१३-१५ नृसिंह	व ८।७-९ ,,
पु ३०।३६-४६ जगन्नाथ	व ८।१० ,,
पु ३२।४७-४९ वराह	व ८।११ ,,
पु ३८।६७-८१ विष्णु	व ८।१२ ,,
पु ५७।१५-१६ जगन्नाथ	का १६।२-४ ,,
व २।३३-३६ विष्णु	वै १६।४-२८ ,,
व ३।२९-३८ ,,	अ १९-८७ ,,
व ३।५४-६२ ,,	अ ४।१०-१६ ,,
व ५।१४-१६ ,,	अ ६।२३-३७ ,,
व ५।१४-२० ,,	अ ६।१५९-१६३ ,,
व ६।१५-१९ ,,	

(३ काशीखण्ड)

२।१-७५ विष्णु	६०।२५-४३ ,,
२३।५९-६४ ,,	९५।३०-३९ ,,

(४ ब्रह्मखण्ड)

[अत्र सेतुखण्डधर्मारण्यखण्डौ]

से २।७५-८२ राम	से ४६।३१-४९ ,,
से ३।३१-३६ विष्णु	से ५०।५९-६८ विष्णु
से ३।८१-८४ कृष्ण	ध ८।५३-५६ विष्णु
से ३।८८-९१ ,,	ध ९।१२-१३ ,,
से १८।१०-१६ राम	ध १५।११-१८ ,,
से ३७।१५-२० विष्णु	ध ३२।१०-१८ ,,
से ४४।६३-७७ राम	

५ आवन्त्यखण्ड

[अत्र अवन्तिक्षेत्र—चतुरशीतिलिङ्गमाहात्म्यरेवाखण्डाः]

[शिवविषयकमपि]

अ ३।३४-३६ विष्णु	अ ४२।१२-१४ ,,

अ ५२।६३-६४	,,	रे ४८।१५-२४	,,
च २६।१४-१७	,,	रे ९०।२८-२९	विष्णु
च २६।४०-४१	,,	रे ४६।९३-९६	,,
च ७२।१८-२२	जगन्नाथ	रे १८९।८	,,
रे ७।५-७	विष्णु	रे १९२।४६-५८	,,
रे २०।२५-३४	पुरुषोत्तम	रे १९३।१६-४७	,,
रे ४७।१२	विष्णु	रे २२३।७-८	,,

६ नागरखण्ड

[अस्मिन् खण्डे विष्णुस्तुतिर्नास्ति]

७९ प्रभासखण्ड

[अत्र प्रभासमाहात्म्य-वस्त्रापथमाहात्म्यखण्डौ]

प्र ८१।२२-२७	विष्णु	प्र ३३४।२७-२८	,,
प्र ८४।८-१८	,,	व १८।७५	,,
		व १८।२५६-२५८	,,

१५ मत्स्यपुराण (जीवा० सं०)

२४७।१२–५६	वराह	२४८।३७–४५	,,
१६०।३०–३१	विष्णु	१६२।९७–१०१	नरसिंह
२४३।१३–३४	,,	१७८।५३–६१	,,
२४४।५५–७८	,,		

१६ अग्निपुराण

अत्र स्तोत्राणि प्रायेण व्रतपूजान्तर्गतानि दृश्यन्ते, अतः तेषां पृथक् संकलनं न कृतम्, पूजाविधिष्वेव तेषामन्तर्भावात् । केशवनारायणादिचतुर्विंशति-मूर्तिविषयकमेकं स्तोत्रम् ४८।१-१५ इत्यत्रोपलभ्यते ।

१७ भविष्यपुराण (वेंकटेश्वर)

३।१।४।१२–१५	विष्णु	३।४।२५।७–८	,,

भविष्यपुराणे व्रतान्तर्गता मन्त्रमयाः स्तोत्रसदृशाः श्लोकाः सन्ति, न तेषामिह संकलनं कृतम् ।

१८ भागवतपुराण (गीताप्रेस०)

१।८।१८–४३ कृष्ण
१।९।३२-४२ ,,
२।४।१२-२४ विष्णु
३।५।३८-५० ,,
३।९।१–२४ ,,
३।१३।३४-४५ वराह
३।१६।१६-२५ विष्णु
३।१९।३० वराह
३।२१।१३-२१ विष्णु
३।३१।१२-२१ ,,
३।३३।२–८ कपिल
४।१।५६-५७ नरनारायणौ
४।७।२६-४७ विष्णु
४।९।६–१७ ,,
४।२४।३३-७९ ,,
४।३०।२२-४२ ,,
५।१७।१७-२४ संकर्षण
५।१८–१९अ० भगवान्
[जम्बूद्वीपीयवर्षाणां तत्रत्योपासनानां च वर्णनप्रसङ्गे भगवदवताराणं हयग्रीवादीनां स्तुतयः ।]
६।४।२३-३४ (विष्णु)
[हंसगुह्यनामकम् स्तोत्रम्]

६।९।२१-२७ विष्णु
६।९।३१-४५ ,,
६।१६।३४-४८ संकर्षण
७।८।४०-५६ नृसिंह
७।९।८-५० ,,
८।३।२-२९ विष्णु
८।५।२६-५० ,,
८।६।८-१५ ,,
८।१७।८-१० ,,
८।१७।२५-२८ वामन
८।२२।१६-१७ ,, [स्तुतिवत्]
८।२३।२-११ ,, [स्तुतिवत्]
८।२४।४६-५३ (मत्स्यावतार)
१०।३।१३-२२ (कृष्ण)
१०।३।२४-३१ ,,
१०।१०।२९-३८ ,,
१०।१४।१-४० ,,
१०।१६।३३-५३ ,,
१०।२७।४-१३ ,,
१०।२७।१९-२१ कृष्ण
१०।२८।५-८ ,,

१०।४०।१-३ कृष्ण
१०।५१।४६-५८ ,,
१०।५९।२५-३१ ,,
१०।६३।२५-२८ ,,
१०।६३।३४-४५ ,,
१०।६४।१०-२९ ,,
१०।७०।२५-३० ,,
१०।७३।८-१६ ,,
१०।८४।१६-२६ ,,
१०।८५।३९-४६ विष्णु
१०।८६।४४-४९ कृष्ण
१०।८७।१४-४१ भगवान् [वेदस्तुति]
११।६।७-१९ विष्णु
११।६।४२-४९ कृष्ण [स्तुतिवत्]
११।७।१४-१८ कृष्ण
१२।८।४०-४९ नारायण
१२।१३।२ कूर्मावतार

विष्णुपत्नीपराणि स्तोत्राणि

विष्णु पु० १।९।११६-१३१ श्री
भविष्य० ३।१।४।५५-५६ ,,
ब्र०वै० २।३९।५१-७१ लक्ष्मी
,, २।५५।४४-५६ राधा
,, ३।२२।२७-३६ महालक्ष्मी
,, ४।६।२१-२३ राधा
,, ४।१५।९४-११४ ,,
,, ४।५७।७५-८३ महालक्ष्मी
,, ४।९२।६३-८८ राधा
वराह० ९१।९-१६ त्रिशक्तिदेवी [सरस्वती-वैष्णवीरौद्रीरूपा]
वराह० ९५।५८-६८ वैष्णवीदेवी
अग्नि० २३७।१-१७ श्री
पद्म० ६।११८२।१५-३१ महालक्ष्मी
ब्रह्माण्ड० ४।९।७७-८२ श्री
स्क०विष्णु०वेङ्कटा० ९।९९-१०५ लक्ष्मी
स्कन्द० काशी० ५।८०-८७ ,,
स्क०ब्रह्म०सेतु० ४६।५०-५७ सीता
स्कन्द०ब्रह्म०सेतु० ५०।६९-७४ लक्ष्मी

देवीमहिमा

[देवीभागवते तृतीयस्कन्धे षष्ठोऽध्यायः]

[The theme of this clearly worded enunciation by the Goddess of Her greatness is that Prakṛiti and Purusha are identical, that the monotheistic principle called Brahman, who is One without a second, becomes transformed as the Many for purposes of creation, that the three deities Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā are emanations of the Supreme Goddess, who is the same as सनातन परमात्मा, the eternal Supreme Soul or Brahman.]

ब्रह्मा उवाच—

दृष्टादृष्टविभेदेऽस्मिन् प्राक् त्वत्तो वै पुमान् परः ।
नान्यः कोपि तृतीयोऽस्ति प्रमेये सुविचारिते ॥३।५।४१॥

न मिथ्या वेदवाक्यं वै कल्पनीयं कदाचन ।
विरोधोऽयं मयाऽत्यन्तं हृदये तु विशंकितः ॥४२ ॥

एकमेवाद्वितीयं यद् ब्रह्म वेदा वदन्ति वै ।
सा किं त्वं वाप्यसौ वा किं सन्देहं विनिवर्तय ॥४३॥

देवी उवाच—

सदैकत्वं न भेदोऽस्ति सर्वदैव ममास्य च ।
योऽसौ साऽहमहं योऽसौ भेदोस्ति मतिविभ्रमात् ॥३॥
एकमेवाद्वितीयं वै ब्रह्म नित्यं सनातनम् ।
द्वैतभावं पुनर्याति काल उत्पित्सुसंज्ञके ॥४॥
यथा दीपस्तथोपाधेर्योगात् सञ्जायते द्विधा ।
छायेवादर्शमध्ये वा प्रतिबिम्बं तथाऽऽवयोः ॥५॥
भेद उत्पत्तिकाले वै सर्गार्थं प्रभवत्यज ।
दृश्यादृश्यविभेदोऽयं द्वैविध्ये सति सर्वथा ॥६॥

नाहं स्त्री न पुमांश्चाहं न क्लीबं सर्गसंक्षये।
सर्गे सति विभेदः स्यात् कल्पितोऽयं धिया पुनः ॥७॥
अहं बुद्धिरहं श्रीश्च धृतिः कीर्तिः स्मृतिस्तथा।
श्रद्धा मेधा दया लज्जा क्षुधा तृष्णा तथा क्षमा ॥८॥
कान्तिः शान्तिः पिपासा च निद्रा तन्द्रा जराऽजरा।
विद्याविद्या स्पृहा वाञ्छा शक्तिश्चाशक्तिरेव च ॥९॥
वसा मज्जा च त्वक् चाहं दृष्टिर्वागनृतानृता।
परा मध्या च पश्यन्ती नाड्योऽहं विविधाश्च याः ॥१०॥
किं नाहं पश्य संसारे मद्वियुक्तं किमस्ति हि।
सर्वमेवाहमित्येवं निश्चयं विद्धि पद्मज ॥११॥
एतैर्मे निश्चितै रूपैर्विहीनं किं वदस्व मे।
तस्मादहं विधे चास्मिन् सर्गे वै वितताऽभवम् ॥१२॥
नूनं सर्वेषु देवेषु नानानामधरा ह्ययम्।
भवामि शक्तिरूपेण करोमि च पराक्रमम् ॥१३॥
उत्पन्नेषु समस्तेषु कार्येषु प्रविशामि तान्।
करोमि सर्वकार्याणि निमित्तं तं विधाय वै ॥१५॥

जले शीतं तथा वह्नावौष्ण्यं ज्योतिर्दिवाकरे।
निशानाथे हिमा कामं प्रभवामि यथा तथा ॥१६॥

मया त्यक्तं विधे नूनं स्पन्दितुं न क्षमं भवेत्।
जीवजातं च संसारे निश्चयोऽयं ब्रुवे त्वयि ॥१७॥
जलं पिबामि सकलं संहरामि विभावसुम्।
पवनं स्तम्भयाम्यद्य यदिच्छामि तथाचरम् ॥२५॥

जीवनार्थं कृता यज्ञा देवानां सर्वथा मया।
अविरोधेन सङ्गेन वर्तितव्यं त्रिभिः सदा ॥५२॥

यो हरिः स शिवः साक्षाद्यः शिवः स स्वयं हरिः ॥५५॥

तथैव द्रुहिणो ज्ञेयो नात्र कार्या विचारणा।
अपरो गुणभेदोस्ति शृणु विष्णो ब्रवीमि ते ॥५६॥

मुख्यः सत्त्वगुणस्तेऽस्तु परमात्मविचिन्तने ।
गौणत्वेऽपि परौ ख्यातौ रजोगुणतमोगुणौ ॥५७॥

इत्युक्त्वा वासुदेवं सा त्रिगुणा प्रकृतिः परा ॥६४॥

निर्गुणा शंकरं देवमवोचदमृतं वचः ॥६५॥
मुख्यस्तमोगुणस्तेऽस्तु गौणौ सत्त्वरजोगुणौ ॥६६॥
सर्वथा त्रिगुणा यूयं सृष्टिस्थित्यन्तकारकाः ॥६८॥
एभिर्विहीनं संसारे वस्तु नैवात्र कुत्रचित् ।
वस्तुमात्रं तु यद्दृश्यं संसारे त्रिगुणं हि तत् ॥६९॥
दृश्यं च निर्गुणं लोके न भूतं नो भविष्यति ।
निर्गुणः परमात्माऽसौ न तु दृश्यः कदाचन ॥७०॥
सगुणा निर्गुणा चाहं समये शंकरोत्तमा ।
सदाऽहं कारणं शम्भो न च कार्यं कदाचन ॥७१॥
सगुणा कारणत्वाद्वै निर्गुणा पुरुषान्तिके ।
महत्तत्त्वमहङ्कारो गुणाः शब्दादयस्तथा ॥७२॥
कार्यकारणरूपेण संसरन्ते त्वहर्निशम् ।
सदुद्भूतस्त्वहङ्कारस्तेनाहं कारणं शिवा ॥७३॥
अहङ्कारश्च मे कार्यं त्रिगुणोऽसौ प्रतिष्ठितः ।
अहङ्कारान्महत्तत्त्वं बुद्धिः सा परिकीर्त्तिता ॥७४॥
महत्तत्त्वं हि कार्यं स्यादहङ्कारो हि कारणम् ।
तन्मात्राणि त्वहङ्कारादुत्पद्यन्ते सदैव हि ॥७५॥
कारणं पञ्चभूतानां तानि सर्वसमुद्भवे ।
कर्मेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव पञ्च ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि च ॥७६॥
महाभूतानि पञ्चैव मनः षोडशमेव च ।
कार्यः च कारणं चैव गणोऽयं षोडशात्मकः ॥७७॥
परमात्मा पुमानाद्यो न कार्यः न च कारणम् ।
एवं समुद्भवः शम्भो सर्वेषामादिसंभवे ॥७८॥
स्मर्तव्याऽहं सदा देवाः परमात्मा सनातनः ॥८०॥
उभयोः स्मरणादेव कार्यसिद्धिरसंशयम् ॥८१॥

The पञ्चवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख Motif

By

V. S. Agrawala

[पंचवक्त्रं दारु इत्येष शब्दः पद्मपुराणस्य पातालखंडे प्रयुक्तः। तस्यार्थस्य विवेचनमस्मिन् लेखे क्रियते। कीर्तिः चैत्यगृहं शैलमंडप इत्येते शब्दाः पर्याया आसन्। चैत्यमंडपस्य यद्बिलमासीत् स एव कीर्तिमुखः कथ्यते। तच्च स्थापत्यस्यालंकरणरूपेण प्रयुज्यते। तस्मिन्नलंकरणे आदौ स्त्रीमुखाः पुरुषमुखा वा उत्कीर्णा क्रियन्ते स्म। पश्चाद् गुप्तयुगस्य चैत्यगृहाणां प्रासादानां च मुखपट्टेषु वलभीषु च सिंहमुखानि कीर्तिमुखालंकरणमंडलमध्ये उत्कीर्यन्ते। तस्मादेव सिंहमुखं कीर्तिमुखं पञ्चवक्त्रमित्येते शब्दाः पर्यायरूपेण प्रचलिता अभवन्। सिंहमुखं आरम्भे नैसर्गिकं, कालान्तरे तदेव आटोपसमन्वितं शृङ्गान्वितं चाभवत्, यथा मध्यकालीन-देवप्रासादानां तोरणेषु। तस्य महिमा चावर्धत। ये सिंहास्ते रौद्राः शिवानुचरा शिवरूपा एव। अतएव पंचवक्त्रस्य भ्रंशः भयावहः इति मान्यता जाता, यथात्र पद्मपुराणस्योद्धरणे कथितम्।]

This word occurs in the following passages of the Padma Purāṇa :

(१) नत्वा यदेतल्लङ्काद्वारे दृश्यते दारु पञ्चवक्त्रं शुक्रेणोक्तमेतेन च्छिन्नेन रावणो हन्यतेऽथ च दारुच्छेदनसमनन्तरं पातालं गन्तव्यमिति भार्गवभाषितं शासनं लिखितं तस्मात्त्वमिदं दार्वेकप्रयत्नेनैकबाणनिपातेन पञ्चधा छिन्धि ततस्तव शक्तिं ज्ञात्वा युद्धमतिदृढं कुर्वहे ॥२०८॥

अथ भार्गववचो विज्ञाय रामः पूर्वकोट्यां स्पर्शमाने (त्रेण) सज्यं कृत्वा धनुषि बाणं संयोज्य रक्षोभ्यां हनुमतां श्रावयन्नेव बाणं मुमोच ॥२०९॥

बाणं धनुषश्चलितं तौ राक्षसौ बाणमार्गं निरीक्षमाणौ दारु बाणेन पञ्चधा छिन्नं निरीक्ष्य रामं व्यज्ञापयतामावयोः शिशवो रक्षणीयास्त्वयेति ॥२१०॥

(२) गोपुरस्थं तथा दारु पञ्चवक्त्रमथेषुणा।
चिच्छेद पञ्चधा तेन रामस्त्वां मारयिष्यति ॥२३३॥

(पद्मपुराण, पातालखंड, अ० ११२)

1. Atikāya and Mahākāya spying in Rama's encampment were caught but treated kindly by him. They divulged this

secret of Rāvaṇa's ruin : 'In the entrance gateway to Laṅkā is a beam carved with *Pañch-vaktra* motif. Śukrāchārya has said : 'As soon as this beam is cut into pieces, Rāvaṇa will meet his death. Therefore when this event takes place you should move to Pātāla to save yourself'. This prophecy of Bhārgava Śukra is engraved on a plate. Therefore, O Rāma, you cut that *Dāru* into five pieces by a single shot of your arrow. We shall thereby know your might and offer stiff resistance (208).

When Rāma learnt it as Śukra's prophecy, he put an arrow on his bow and communicating (his intention) to the two demons through Hanumān, let the arrow fly (209).

The shaft so discharged from the bow split the wooden beam (*dāru*) into five pieces. The demons when they saw this prayed to Rāma to spare their family (210).

II. 'The wooden beam that forms part of the Gopura (in Laṅkā) and which is carved with the *Pañcha-vaktra* motif would be split into five pieces and thereby Rāma will cause your death,'—thus spoke Vibhīshaṇa to Rāvaṇa (233).

(Padma Purāṇa, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, ch. 112).

It is clear from the above that there was a deep-seated superstition in Laṅkā that the destruction of the *Pañcha-vaktra Dāru* which formed part of the chief entrance to the capital, would result in the death of Rāvaṇa, the ruler of the kingdom. The apparent meaning of पञ्चवक्त्र is 'five-faced', but it was an architectural term meaning the decorative motif of a lion's face carved on the lintels of doorways or friezes of buildings. A lion is called पंचानन or पंचास्य because of its wide gaping mouth (the word पञ्च being derived from पचि विस्तारे, रामाश्रमी commentary on the Amarakosha).[1] The पञ्चवक्त्र motif was the same as the कीर्तिमुख motif of ancient Indian art. Originally

1. For this meaning of पञ्च, see also सेकसुकुमारयवांकुरदन्तुरैः पञ्चास्यैः कलशैः कोमलवर्णिकाविचित्रैरमित्रमुखैश्चोद्भासितपर्यन्ताम् (Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Harshacharit*, Nirṇaya Sāgar 5th edn., p. 147; my Cultural commentary on it, p. 83, where this difficult passage has been correctly explained in preference to Cowell and Kaṇe.

the word कीर्ति signified an excavated chaitya-hall, and then a temple or palace, and its earliest use in this sense is recorded in a copper-plate inscription from Kanheri dated A. D. 493 :—

तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरेयं भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुतं पुष्यनाम्नः ।[1]

The large window or opening with which the hollowing out of the rock started and which remained as the most conspicuous part of the whole excavation, was naturally called कीर्तिमुख, i. e. the opening to the interior कीर्ति or चैत्य-मंडप or सेलघर. This कीर्तिमुख design was employed as a decorative motif on the façade of the earlier chaitya-halls. Later on it was used to enclose or frame beautiful human faces in the frieze of Gupta buildings, and in the third stage the human faces were replaced by lion-faces, when the word कीर्तिमुख became synonymous with the lion-face motif :[2]

कीर्तिवक्त्रं हरेर्वक्त्रं चोक्तवत्कारयेत् सुधीः ।

(Mānasāra 18. 151)

According to the Mānasāra the front portion of the doorway (मुखभद्र) was to be decorated with the design of a *gavāksha*, a circular motif enclosing the figures of a *deva*, *bhūta*, *vyāla*, *siṁha*, *haṁsa*, etc. and adorned by plants or creepers of foliated pattern, and this was beautified on the top by a projecting कीर्तिवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख design :

नासिकावृत बाह्ये तु गवाक्षाकारं तु पत्रयुक् ॥ १४५ ॥
तस्मादन्तर्गतैश्चादि देवभूतादिरूपकैः ।
व्यालसिंहादिहंसाद्यै र्द्रुमवल्ल्यादिभूषितम् ॥ १४४ ॥
तदूर्ध्वे कीर्तिवक्त्रं तु निर्गमाकृति भावयेत् ।

This कीर्तिवक्त्र became a favourite motif in Gupta art, and dozens of sculptures are preserved in the Sarnath Museum

1. JBBRAS, V, p. 32, pl. XXVI; Arch. Survey of Western India Series No. 10, Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India, Kanheri Caves, Ins. 1, line 8.

2. See my article, Kirti, Kīrtimukha, And Kīrtistambha, VĀK, No. 5 (Feb. 1957), pp. 147-151, Deccan College, Poona.

illustrating this ornamental design, showing a conventionalised grotesque form, with several features specially noted in the Mānasāra, viz. large goggle eyes (दीर्घनेत्रं विशालं), round plump cheeks (वृत्तं गण्डस्थलं), fan-shaped ears like those of an elephant (गजश्रोत्राकृति श्रोत्रं), and wavy lines on the lower portion of the cheeks (गण्डं चान्ते तरंगवत् , Mānasāra, 18, 147-148).

This motif began to be considered auspicious and expressive of the divine power of Rudra for warding off evil. The lion became an integral part of Śiva's retinue, as stated by Kālidāsa :

कैलासगौरं वृषमारुरुक्षोः पादार्पणानुग्रहपूतपृष्ठम् ।
अवेहि मां किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रम् ॥

(Raghuvaṁśa, II, 35).

Of the Eight Forms of Śiva, as explained in Śaiva philosophy, there are three categories:

I Mind—called मनस्, यजमान, होत्री, दीक्षित, ब्राह्मण, सोमयाजी, etc.

II Energy—called प्राण, or प्राणापान, or सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ, representing the dual form of Śakti.

III Matter—comprising the Five Elements, पृथिवी, जल, तेज, वायु, आकाश, the पञ्चब्रह्म or पञ्चभूत or the gross material forms.

This constitutes the अष्टमूर्ति principle of manifestation, referred to by Kālidāsa as the eight visible forms of Śiva (प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः, Śākuntalā). We find very ample elaboration of these in the Liṅga Purāṇa (Uttara Khaṇḍa, chs. 12-13). The gross Five Elements or the Pañcha Bhūtas are symbolised by the Lion, who is mentioned as the servant of Bhūtapati Śiva (भूतनाथानुग, रघु० II. 58). The Five Elements were regarded as the five faces of Śiva called पंचानन or पंचमुख, whose iconographic form was conceived of as the Liṅga with five faces. By the use of double *entendre* on the word पञ्च, the lion was also described as पञ्चानन, and considered to be an appropriate symbol of the पञ्चमूर्तिs or the Five Material Elements of Rudra's esoteric manifestation.

The artistic symbol of the lion-face (कीर्तिवक्त्र, हरिवक्त्र) was gradually sublimated in the temple architecture of the Gupta age. The Vāyu Purāṇa giving an elaborate description of a Sahasrapāda Prāsāda of Śiva (corresponding to a Sahasra-stambha-maṇḍapa temple) speaks of the lion-faces carved on the pillars, showing different expressions and beautified by a chain ornament fastened on the four sides of the shafts :

तस्य प्रासादमुख्यस्य स्तम्भेषूत्तमशोभिषु ॥ २१०
संयताग्निमयीभिस्तु शृङ्खलाभिः पृथक् पृथक् ।
मायासहस्रं सिंहानां मुखं तत्र निवासिनाम् ॥ २११
(वायुपुराण अ० १०१)

The chain-motif ornament with lion-faces is a typical description of Gupta pillars. Rudra and Agni were both considered to be identical (अग्निर्वै रुद्रः, शतपथ ५।३।१।१०, etc.) and to be forms of Paśupati :

सोऽसौ रुद्रात्मको वह्निर्ब्रह्मणो मानसः सुतः ।
(शिवपु०, वायवीय सं०, १७।३७)

रुद्रस्यानुचराग्नयः (हरिवंश ३।१२२।२४)

अहमग्निर्महातेजाः सोमश्चैषा महाम्बिका । (लिंगपु० १।३४।७)

अग्निरित्युच्यते रौद्री घोरा या तैजसी तनुः (शिवपु०, वाय०, २८।३

The chain-motif on the pillars thus symbolised the flames of fire and the lion-face the Paśupati aspect of Śiva. मायासहस्रं of Vāyu 101. 21 has reference to the multiple forms created by the Māyā or power of Rudra. Each of the thousand pillars in the temple of Śiva corresponds to the Yūpa or stake of a Vedic Yajña. The Puranic Ṛishis of Nāimishāraṇya questioned about the symbolism of the lion-faces and they were told that these represented 'the wrath' of Rudra, which born from His body or the single fiery principle, assumes myriad forms :

अथ तत्प्रतिसंपूज्य वायोर्वाक्यं सुविस्मिताः ।
ऋषयः प्रत्यभाषन्त नैमिषेयास्तपस्विनः ॥२९२॥

भगवन् सर्वभूतानां प्राण सर्वत्रग प्रभो ।
के ते सिंहमहाभूताः क्व ते जाताः किमात्मकाः ॥२९३॥
सिंहाः केनापराधेन भूतानां प्रभविष्णुना ।
वैश्वानरमयैः पाशैः संरुद्धास्तु पृथक् पृथक् ॥२९४॥
तेषां तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा वायुर्वाक्यं जगाद ह ।
यद्वै सहस्रं सिंहानामीश्वरेण महात्मना ।
व्यपनीय स्वकाद्देहात्क्रोधास्ते सिंहविग्रहाः ॥२९५॥
भूतानामभयं दत्त्वा पुरा बद्धाग्निबन्धने ।
यज्ञभागनिमित्तं च ईश्वरस्याऽऽज्ञया तदा ॥२९६॥
(वायु० अ० १०१)

The वैश्वानर Fire manifesting in each body is the fiery chain that keeps the five elements in the form of lions (सिंहमहाभूतs) locked together. That Fire represents a flicker of Śiva's Anger (*Krodha*), which is the same as the *Manyu* of Śata-rudriya litany of the Yajurveda :

नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवऽउतोतऽइषवे नमः ।
बाहुभ्यामुत ते नमः ।
(यजु० १६।१)

Each lion symbolises the wrath of Rudra, but is kept restrained by the mysterious fiery chain forged as the *raśana* of each yajña. One of the beasts was permitted to get loose from this ordered dispensation (विधान) and he is Vīrabhadra who wrought havoc to Daksha's sacrifice :

तेषां विधानमुक्तेन सिंहेनैकेन लीलया ।
देव्या मन्युं कृतं ज्ञात्वा हतो दक्षस्य स क्रतुः ॥२९७॥
स एष भगवान् क्रोधो रुद्रावासकृतालयः ।
वीरभद्रोऽप्रमेयात्मा देव्या मन्युप्रमार्जनः ॥२९९॥

The grotesque lion-face called सिंहमुख or कीर्तिमुख as described by the Mānasāra seems to have become a popular and universal feature of Gupta temple architecture. From India the motif

travelled to Indonesia where enormous *Kīrttimukhas* crown the main entrance of the magnificent Śiva temples e. g. at Chaṇḍi Kalasan in the Prambanam group (Coomaraswamy. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 203).

This कीर्तिमुख motif received the technical name of पञ्चवक्त्र and found a conspicuous place on medieval temple gateways, as mentioned in the following :

मन्दारोभयपक्षे तु कीर्तिवक्त्रद्वयं भवेत् ॥१५॥
भृकुट्या कुटिलाक्षं च दंष्ट्राभिः समलंकृतम् ।
कर्णोपश्रृंगैस्तदधः शाखापत्रैरलंकृतम् ॥१६॥

(अपराजितपृच्छा, ch. 121)

i. e. on the sides of the two festoons (मन्दार) on the door there should be two कीर्तिवक्त्रs, whose grotesque appearance should be indicated by frowning eyebrows, bulging eyes, fangs, ears and projecting horns (उपशृंग). Also we find in the काश्यपशिल्प—

पञ्चवक्त्रसमायुक्तं पार्श्वयोर्मकरास्यकम् ।

i. e. on the gateway known as मकरतोरण, there should be a पूरीम (space-filling spiral or festoon) motif in the centre and on its two sides two makara-faces combined with the grotesque form of पञ्चवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुखs (*Kāśyapa-śilpa*, 12.8). Describing a स्तम्भतोरण, it is said :

फलकं पञ्चवक्त्राढ्यं प्रागुक्तविधिना कुरु
वक्त्राख्यं मकराख्यं वा चित्रतोरणमेव वा ॥

(काश्यपशिल्प, 14-27)

i.e. the front portion of the beam or lintel of a *toraṇa* should be adorned with the lion-face (पञ्चवक्त्र) motif, and the *toraṇa* is variously named as वक्त्रतोरण, मकरतोरण or चित्रतोरण. Indeed in the medieval art motifs the पञ्चवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख decoration had become very much formalised so that it seemed to resemble a मकरमुख also, specially owing to the goggle eyes and projecting horns. The traditional architects now name it as गिरासड़ा, from the word ग्रास meaning a lion-face, and also सांकड़ा, from शंकु or elongated horn-like appendages.

We have in the Padma Purāṇa a parable relating to the origin of this rather important motif of the Kīrtimukha. It is said that once Rāhu, as the emissary of the demon-king Jalandhara, approached Śiva, causing great consternation amongst members of His family and their *vāhanas*.

अथेश्वरजटाजूटादाविरासीद्गणो महान् ॥ ३६ ॥
त्रिआननस्त्रिचरणस्त्रिपुच्छः सप्तहस्तवान् ।
स च कीर्तिमुखो नाम पिंगलो जटिलो महान् ॥ ३७ ॥
तं दृष्ट्वा च कपालाली भयात्तस्थौ मृतेव सा ।
पुरतः प्राह स गणस्ततः कीर्तिमुखः प्रभुम् ॥ ३८ ॥
प्रणिपत्य शिवं देवमत्यर्थं क्षुधितः प्रभो ।
तदोक्तः शंकरेणासौ भक्षय त्वं रणे हतान् ॥ ३९ ॥
क्षणं विचार्य स गणः क्वाप्यदृष्ट्वा रणं तदा ।
ब्रह्माणं भक्षितुं प्राप्तः शंकरेण निवारितः ॥ ४० ॥
ततः कीर्तिमुखेनाथ स्वांगं सर्वं च भक्षितम् ।
बुभुक्षितेन चात्यन्तं निषिद्धेन च सर्वतः ॥ ४१ ॥
तत्साहसं तदा दृष्ट्वा भक्तिं कीर्तिमुखस्य च ।
तमुवाचेश्वरः प्रीतः प्रासादे तिष्ठ मे सदा ॥ ४२ ॥
त्वच्चित्तरहितो यश्च भविष्यति ममालये ।
स पतिष्यति शीघ्रं हीत्युक्तः सोऽन्तर्हितोऽभवत् ॥ ४३ ॥

(पद्मपु०, उत्तरखंड, अ० ११)

The *chandralekhā* ornament on Śiva's head oozed out its ambrosial fluid owing to the fiery sniffings of the serpent Vāsuki, as a result of which Śiva's body was drenched with it, and the series of his heads became fresh with life again and muttered their practised recitations. There ensued a lively debate amongst them as to each one's superior rank and priority of function, and they also became depressed with the thought of omissions in their duties. (Thus when the five heads were in a state of confusion) there sprang up a mighty Gaṇa from the pile of Śiva's matted locks. He had three faces, three

The पञ्चवक्त्रं or कीर्तिमुख Motif
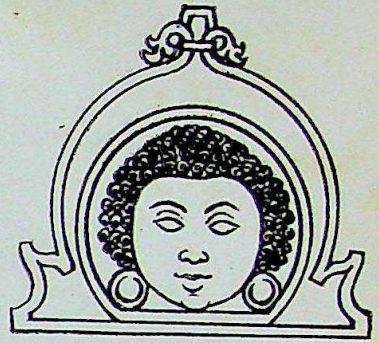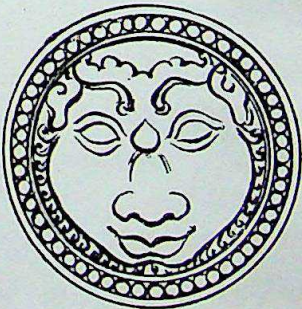
Fig. 1. Kīrtimukha with female face (Ajanta). Fig. 2. Kīrtimukha with lion-face (Ajanta).
Fig. 3. Kīrtimukha (Bhārat Kalā Bhavan). Fig. 4. Terrific Lion-face (Ajanta).
Fig. 5. Lion-face with haṁsas (Sarnath). Fig. 6. Lion-face with chain (Mathura).
Fig. 7. Pañchavaktra (Harshanath Śiva temple). Fig. 8. Pañchavaktra toraṇa (Borobudur Stūpa Java)

feet, three tails and seven hands,—he was the mighty Kīrtimukha, having a resplendent tawny colour on the body and massive locks on the head.

The five heads of Śiva were struck dead at the sight of this strange creature. He bowed at Śiva's feet to pacify his enormous wrath, and Śiva thereupon conferred on him the boon: 'You maintain yourself by making food of those who are killed in battle'. But the Gaṇa Kīrtimukha, unable to find any battle-ground ready at hand, pounced upon god Brahmā to devour him, but was restrained by Śiva. Thereupon the Gaṇa Kīrtimukha under the pangs of consuming hunger, devoured his own body and limbs. This bold action and devotion of his pleased Śiva who assigned to him an abode in his temples with the following injunction: 'he who enters my place but does not pay heed to you or does not become conscious of your presence, shall face instantaneous doom.'

The above legend makes the Kīrtimukha motif a part of Śiva's iconography. Śiva is Rudra and identical with Agni or *Prāṇic* energy. He manifests himself as Pañcha-Brahman or the Five Gross Material Elements which are symbolised as the Five Heads on his body. Oo the plane of manifest life they have their respective functions and governed by an orderly dispensation. But when there is disorder and confusion amongst them in the *ab intra* stage, i. e. when their duties are not specifically marked or differentiated, they have the form of a single monster concealing all the heads in the form of matted locks. That is the Kīrtimukha emanation of Siva himself. Śiva as Agni is represented by a *maṇḍala*, whose centre is occupied by the vibrating form of a Purusha of tawny colour (पिंगल पुरुष), who is no other than the अक्षर पुरुष, or सूर्य, or अग्नि himself, or कालाग्निरुद्र, the personified रजोगुण or principle of activity. His place is very conspicuous, occupying the centre or apex of the main doorway of the divine temple. Any one who enters the temple but is not conscious or attuned in mind to this presiding genius of life and *Prāṇic* activity, becomes devoid of life in no time. The word *kīrtti* originally signifying a rock-excavation, now

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becomes synonymous with मंडल, महिमा or यशस्, and the 'face' filling it becomes esoterically identical with the याजुष पुरुष or अक्षर पुरुष, which is the same as चाक्षुष पुरुष residing in the Sun. Sūrya himself is the सिंहमुख, the lion-face, the gaping mouth in respect of this cosmos. The कीर्तिमुख or 'Face of Glory' is आदित्य itself, where कीर्ति from its inceptive meaning of 'a chaitya-window of a rock-cut interior' becomes synonymous with मंडल यशस् —

अथैष वाव यशः य एष (आदित्यः) तपति

(शतपथ १४।१।१।३२)

असौ वा आदित्यः पिंगलः, एष शुक्ल एष नील एष पीत एष लोहितः

(छान्दोग्य उप० ८।६।१)

The Āditya is called पिंगल and so is कीर्तिमुख described tobe पिंगल; both are forms of Rudra or Agni. The कीर्तिमुख is born of the matted locks of Rudra and is himself hairy (जटिल). The significance of this is also clear. केश or hair is the प्रवर्ग्य or refuse or ejected portion of living energy. Rudra is the predominant principle of 'Life' and कीर्तिमुख is its material manifestation pulsating with rhythm of expansion and contraction, which are spoken of as the two jaws (हनू) of an open mouth. The कीर्तिमुख in this new setting assumed an all-comprehensive significance, equal to that of Rudra himself, and as the principal गण became the most important architectural feature of medieval temples both in India and Indonesia. The Purāṇas testify to the various stages in the evolution of the important कीर्तिमुख or पञ्चवक्त्र motif of literature and art.

पुराणलक्षणानि

पं० गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी

(पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तम्)

[In his previous instalment, Vol. I, pp. 130-138, the learned author has explained with profuse quotations, the meaning and scope of पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्. In this article he explains that each of the five topics is also five-fold, which are enumerated here. He further elaborates the meaning of the topics called gāthās, kalpa and śuddhi].

पञ्चसु लक्षणेषु प्रत्येकं पञ्च-विधाः

अथ गुरुप्रवरविद्यावाचस्पतिश्रीमधुसूदनझामहाभागचरणैस्तु पुराणोत्पत्तिप्रसंग-नामके निबन्धे पुराणलक्षणेषु पञ्चसु प्रत्येकं पञ्चविधत्वमाख्यातम्। तथा हि—

सृष्टिक्रमो भिन्नमतान्यवतारोप्यथायतिः।
ब्रह्माण्डमिति सृष्ट्यंशे पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्।

१—सृष्टिःप्रथमा षट्पर्वा, २—सृष्टिर्मध्यमा चतुर्विधा, ३—सृष्टिरुत्तरा षड्विधा, ४—संपरायसृष्टिः, ५—सृष्टीनामायतनमितिपञ्चविधा सृष्टिः।

शास्त्रावतरणं कल्पशुद्धिः सृष्ट्युपसंहृतिः।
ज्योतिश्चक्रं भुवः कोशः पञ्चैताः प्रतिसृष्टयः॥

अत्र अनुसृष्टिः प्रलयः (सृष्ट्युपसंहृतिः) इति द्वयमपि प्रतिसृष्टिपदेन गृहीतम्। अनुसृष्टेश्च विस्तारश्चतुर्धा कृतः तत्राख्यानोपाख्यानगाथाकल्पशुद्धिरपि च तस्मिन्नेव लक्षणे संगृहीतानि। तच्चैतदग्रे तैरेव विवृतम्—

त्रैलोक्यविश्वविद्या ज्योतिश्चक्रं च भुवनकोशश्च।
प्रासङ्गिकं च वंशावली पुराणं तु पञ्चविधम्॥
आख्यानोपाख्याने गाथा अथ कल्पशुद्धिश्च।
प्रासङ्गिकं चतुर्धा प्रश्नसमाधिप्रसङ्गतोऽधीतम्।

श्रौतः स्मार्तः समयश्चाचारो धर्मभेदास्ते ।
नानोपासनभेदा दर्शनभेदाश्च कल्पशुद्धिरिह ।

तदेवं ज्योतिश्चक्रम्, भुवनकोशः, शास्त्रानुव्यूहः (शास्त्रभेदविवरणम्), कल्पशुद्धिः, सृष्ट्युपसंहारश्चेति, पञ्चपर्वा प्रतिसृष्टिः, तत्र कल्पशुद्धेर्महान् विस्तारः ।

अथ वंशवंशानुचरिते अपि पञ्चविधे उक्ते—
ऋषिवंशः पितृवंशः सूर्यचन्द्राग्निवंशकाः ।
इत्थं वंशविभागोऽपि पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।
ऋषीणां देवयोनीनां राज्ञां सूर्यादिवंशिनाम् ।
देवासुराणामन्येषां चेहानुचरितं स्तुतम् ।

ऋषिचरितम्, देवयोनिचरितम्, सूर्यवंशचरितम्, चन्द्रवंशचरितम्, अग्निवंशचरितम्, इति पञ्चधा वंशानुचरितम् । देवचरितम्-असुरचरितं च देवयोनिचरित एव समावेश्यमिति तद्भावः । एवम्—
युगं दिव्ययुगं नित्यकल्पः कल्पाश्च सप्त ये ।
त्रिंशत्कल्पाश्च कल्पन्ते मन्वन्तरनिरूपणे ॥

इति पुराणेषु लभ्यमानाः कल्पभेदा मन्वन्तरप्रकरणे संगृहीताः । तदित्थं पुराणोक्ता विषयाः पञ्चसु लक्षणेष्वेव संगृहीताः, विस्तारश्च पुराणविद्याया इह प्रदर्शितः ।

पुराणेष्वतिरिक्ताश्चत्वारो विषयाः

अथ लोकोपयोगितया चत्वारो विषयाः पुराणेषु प्रासङ्गिकतया विशिष्य संगृहीता इत्यपि पुराणेष्वेव प्रतिपाद्यते—
आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पशुद्धिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥ इति ॥
(विष्णुपु० ३।६।१५, ब्रह्माण्डपु०, पू० भा० ३४। २१)

एतच्च विवृतं विष्णुपुराणस्य श्रीधरीयायां टीकायाम्—
स्वयं दृष्टार्थकथनं प्राहुराख्यानकं बुधाः ।
श्रुतस्यार्थस्य कथनमुपाख्यानं प्रचक्षते ॥ इति ॥

वंशानुक्रमेण यानि चरितान्याख्यायन्ते तानि वंशानुचरिताभिधे गृह्यन्ते, यानि तु तत्रतत्रोपदेशाद्यर्थं वंशक्रममनपेक्ष्यैव दृष्टान्तरूपेण पूर्वचरितानि संगृह्यन्ते तानि आख्यानोपाख्यानशब्दाभ्यामत्र संगृहीतानि, यथा महाभारते नलोपाख्यानम्, सावित्र्युपाख्यानम्, मार्कण्डेये मदालसोपाख्यानम्,—इत्यादीनि बहूनि तत्र तत्र द्रष्टव्यानि। तत्रापि वक्त्रा यत्स्वयं दृष्टम् तदाख्यानशब्देन, यत्तु परम्परया श्रुतम् तदुपाख्यानशब्देन ग्राह्यमित्युक्तं श्लोके। केचित्तु वेदोक्तानामाख्यायिकानामनुवादरूपाणि आख्यानानि, स्वसंकलितानि नलादीनां राज्ञां चरितानि तु उपाख्यानानि इत्याहुः। अथापरे एवमाहुः वंशो वंशानुचरितं चेति द्वयं पुराणलक्षणं सर्ववस्तुवृत्तापेक्षया वैज्ञानिकमेव बोद्धव्यम्। मनुष्यविशेषाणां राज्ञां चरितानि तु आख्यानान्येव, प्रसङ्गात् संगृहीतानि चोपाख्यानानीति। गाथास्त्विमा अतिप्राक्तन्यः। वेदस्य ब्राह्मणभागेऽपि बह्व्यः समुपलभ्यन्ते गाथाः, प्रथमप्रकरणोक्तासु पुराणप्रतिपादिकासु श्रुतिषु च गाथाः अपि पृथगुक्ता एव। येन केनचिन्महामहिमभाजा अद्ययुगजातेन युगान्तरजातेन वा स्वानुभवो यादृशैः शब्दैरुपनिबध्यते, शिष्टैश्च सादरमुपगृह्यते, ता एव भवन्ति गाथाः। यथा पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे विवाहप्रकरणे वरो वदति—

> सरस्वति प्रेदमव सुभगे वाजिनीवति।
> मां त्वा विश्वस्य भूतस्य प्रजायामस्याग्रतः।
>
> यस्यां भूतं समभवत् यस्यां विश्वमिदं जगत्।
> तामद्य गाथां गास्यामि या स्त्रीणामुत्तमं यशः।

यथा वा महाभारते पुत्रस्य यौवनं गृहीत्वाप्यतृप्तेन ययातिना स्वानुभवः प्रदर्शितः—

> न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति।
> हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्धते॥ इति॥

उपदेशार्थमत्युपयोगिन्य इमा गाथाः—इति पुराणेषु स्थाने स्थाने संग्रहस्तासाम्। एतासां संगृह्य पृथक् संकलनम् प्रकाशनं चात्युपयोगि भवेल्लोकानाम्।

कल्पशुद्धिः कल्पानां परिगणनादीनीति केचित्। वयं तु ब्रूमो यत् सा कल्पशुद्धिर्मुख्यलक्षणे मन्वन्तर एवान्तर्भूता, इह तु कल्पशुद्धिर्धर्मशास्त्रप्रकरणम्,

तदपि पुराणेषु बहुतरं संगृहीतम्। तत्र कल्पो नाम वेदाङ्गेषु परिगणितः कर्मकाण्डप्रतिपादकः श्रौतगृह्य-सामयाचारिकसूत्र-समुच्चयः, तदुक्ता अष्टचत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः, शिष्टपरिगृहीताः सदाचाराश्चात्र कल्पशब्देन गृह्यन्ते। तदुक्तं स्मृतिकृता गौतमेन—गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं सीमन्तोन्नयनं जातकर्म नामकरणान्नप्राशने चौलोपनयने चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि स्नानं सहधर्मचारिणीसंयोगः पञ्चानां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानम्, एतेषां चाष्टकान्वष्टका पार्वणश्राद्धं श्रावण्याग्रहायणी चैत्राश्वयुजीति सप्त पाकयज्ञसंस्थाः, अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ चातुर्मास्यमाग्रायणं निरूढपशुबन्धः सौत्रामणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञसंस्थाः, अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टोम उक्थ्यः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽप्तोर्याम इति सप्त सोमयज्ञसंस्थाः इत्येते चत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः, अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः दया सर्वभूतेषु, क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति। एते श्रौताः स्मार्ताः सामान्यधर्मरूपाश्च सर्वेपि संस्काराः पुराणेषु प्रसंगेन तत्र तत्र प्रतिपाद्यन्ते एतदुपयुक्ताश्च शिष्टपरिगृहीताः सदाचाराः।

संस्कारो नाम त्रिविधः स्मर्यते शास्त्रेषु—दोषमार्जनम्-अतिशयाधानम्-हीनाङ्गपूर्तिश्चेति। द्विविधाः खलु दृश्यन्ते पदार्था जगति—प्राकृताः-संस्कृताश्च। ये प्रकृत्योत्पादितास्तस्मिन्नेव रूपे स्थिताः शिलोच्चय-नदी-महीरुहादयस्ते प्राकृताः। ये तु मनुष्यैः संस्कृत्य स्वोपयोगाय धृताः, ते भवन्ति संस्कृताः। प्राकृताः पदार्थाः स्वस्वरूपे स्थिताः संस्काराननवाप्य प्रायेण मनुष्योपयोगिनो नैव भवन्ति, अल्पमेव वोपयोगं साधयन्ति। तस्मान्मनुष्यास्तान् संस्कृत्य स्वयमुपयुञ्जते। यथान्नं वस्त्रं वा यथा प्रकृतिरुत्पादयति, न तत्तथास्मदुपयोगि भवति। प्रकृत्योत्पादितं शालिगोधूमादिकं स्वोपयोगाय वयं संस्कुर्महे। तत्र प्रथमं तत्सहचरमस्मदनुपयोगि तृणतुषापकरादिकमपनयामः, धूलीबहुले क्षेत्रे समुत्पन्नस्य निसर्गसहचरीं धूलीं च दूरीकुर्मः तदेतद्दोषमार्जनम्। अथ स्वच्छीकृतं पेषण्या निष्पिष्टं वह्निना परिपक्वं कुर्मस्तदेतदतिशयाधानम्। रुच्युत्पादनाय लवणशाकादिभिश्च संयोजयामः-सेयं हीनाङ्गपूर्तिः। तथैव यथाविधं वस्त्रं परिदध्मस्तथा प्रकृत्या नोत्पादितमिति जानन्ति सर्वेऽपि। प्रकृत्या कार्पास उत्पादितः दोषमार्जनेन संस्कारेण तदन्तःस्थानि बीजानि विशोध्य धूलीणांकश्च दूरीकृत्य अतिशयाधानात्मकेन च संस्कारेण तूलं तन्तुरूपतां वयनेन वसनरूपतां सेवनेन परिधानीयरूपतां च प्राप्य हीनाङ्गपूर्तये पिधायकवर्तना(वटन) दिभिः संयोज्य तस्योपयोगो मनुष्य-

समाजेन क्रियते । एवमेव लोह—पित्तल—सुवर्णादिषु धातुषु गृहनिर्माणादिष्वपि च संस्कारत्रयमनुसन्धेयम् । जडवस्तुषु संस्कारानेतान् सर्वेऽपि मानवाः परिचिन्वन्ति, तत्र कौशलमुपदर्शयन्तश्च महद्यशो धनराशिं चार्जयन्ति । परं चेतनानां मानवानामप्येते भवन्ति संस्काराः, तेऽपि च तैः संस्कारैः कमप्युत्कर्षं जगदुपयोगितां चावहन्तीति विशिष्य भारतीयैर्महर्षिभिरेव विज्ञातम् । तैरेव महर्षिभिर्मनुष्याणां त्रिविधाः संस्कारा आविष्कृताः । त एवेमेऽष्टचत्वारिंशत्संस्कारा धर्मशास्त्रेषु विवृताः पुराणेष्वपि विस्तर एषां बहुतरं प्राप्यते ।

'शुद्धि'पदेन गृहीतं धर्मशास्त्रस्य द्वितीयं शुद्धिप्रकरणम् । सा च शुद्धिः षोढा व्याख्यायते-मलशुद्धिः, स्पर्शशुद्धिः, अघशुद्धिः, एनःशुद्धिः, मनःशुद्धिश्चेति । आत्मनः प्रतिकूलं यदागन्तुकमापतति तद्दोषशब्देन अशुद्धिशब्देन च व्यवह्रियते । तदपनय एव च दोषमार्जनशब्देन शुद्धिशब्देन चाख्यायते । तत्र स्वरूपसंसक्ताः स्वरूपे संसर्गमाप्तुमुपक्रान्ताः ये दोषाः तेषामपनयो दोषमार्जनसंस्काररूपेण प्राग्व्याख्यातः । ये तु आगन्तुका दोषाः स्वरूपे अप्रविष्टा अपि संसर्गमात्रेण परम्परया वा स्वरूपं दूषयितुमुपक्राम्यन्ति, अनपनीतानां कालक्रमेण स्वरूपेऽनुप्रवेशश्च येषां संभाव्यते तदपनयोऽत्र शुद्धिप्रकरणेऽधिक्रियते । यद्यपि सांख्य-वेदान्तयोर्यादृशमात्मस्वरूपं विवृतं, तत्र न क्वापि दोषसंसर्गसंभावना, तथापि व्यावहारिक आत्मा कर्ता भोक्ता चात्रात्मपदेन विवक्षितो द्रष्टव्यः । सोऽयं व्यावहारिक आत्मा सत्त्वप्रधान इति सत्त्वगुणविरोधिनस्तम उद्रेचयन्तो भावा अशुद्धिपदेन सर्वत्र निर्दिश्यन्ते । ते च येन येन मार्गेणात्मना संबध्यात्मानं दूषयितुं सन्नह्यन्ति, तेन तेन मार्गेण तेषामपनयः स्मृतिषु व्याख्यातः पुराणेषु च संगृहीतः ।

त एते सर्वेऽपि संस्काराः शुद्धयश्च धर्मशास्त्रविषया अपि पुराणेषु सविस्तरं संगृहीताः । अत्रैव शुद्धौ कथंचित्संस्कारेष्वपि वा तीर्थानि व्रतान्यपि चान्तर्भवन्ति, येषां श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिषु संक्षेपेण संकेतमात्रं पुराणेषु च तद्विस्तरः । व्रतोपवासादिक-मन्तर्मलशोधकं सत्त्वविशेषोत्कर्षकं चेति शुद्ध्यर्थं संस्कारार्थं चाप्युपादीयते । एषां व्रतोपवासादीनामपि मूलमात्रं श्रुतिस्मृत्योरित्युपदर्शितं प्राक् । विस्तरस्त्वेषां पुराणेष्वेव दृश्यते । एवमुपासनाविषयोपि पुराणेष्वतिविस्तृतः । पूजाविधिप्रकारादिकं तदीयं विज्ञानमपि च तत्र तत्र विवृतम् । त इमे विषयाः कल्पशुद्धावेवान्तर्भाव्याः ।

ततो जयमुदीरयेत्

TATO JAYAM UDĪRAYET*

By

SYLVAIN LÉVI**

[अस्मिन् लेखे श्रीसिल्वाँलेविमहोदयः 'नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् । देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥' इत्यस्य श्लोकस्य परमार्थं विचारमति । पुराणभारतादीनां कथासु वाच्यमानासु आरम्भे वाचकैः पौराणिकैरयं श्लोकः प्रायेण पठ्यते । इयं तु भागवतानां श्लोकात्मिका मुद्रा आसीद् यया तत्सर्वं वाङ्मयं मुद्रितं बभूव यस्मिन् भगवतो नारायणस्य महिमा ख्यापितः, यच्च केनापि रूपेण भागवतधर्मानुयायिभिः प्रतिसंस्कृतम् ।]

Each of the books of the Mahābhārata begins with a uniform preliminary benediction :

Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛitya Naraṁ chaiva narottamam |
Devīṁ Sarasvatīm chaiva tato jayam udīrayet ||

The same formula reappears towards the end of the last Parva (XVIII, 232) in a kind of appendix that deals with the recitation of the Mahābhārata. Its general banality does not seem to have attracted much attention.[1] One reads it and understands it without pausing to consider. The commonly admitted interpretation follows docidedly the translation of P. C. Roy : Having bowed down to Nārāyaṇa and Nara, the most exalted male being and also to the goddess Sarasvatī, must the word *success* be uttered (the slight variations that one finds between one canto and another of the English translation of this formula do not affect the main sense).

* Paul Hartmann, ed., *Memorial Sylvain Levi*, Paris, 1937, pp. 29?-298.

** Translated by Pramod Chandra

1. Bühler seems to have immediately recognised and pointed out its religious significance : "It is a characteristic mark of the works of the ancient Bhāgavata sect, where it is invariably found, frequently with the variant *devīṃ Sarasvatīm Vyāsam* instead of *chaiva* (*Indian Studies*, No. II, p 4, n. 2.)

The commentator, Nīlakaṇṭha however, points out the possibility of another interpretation of the last *pada* : *tato vyāptas tayaiva Sarasvatyā param-kāruṇikayā janabodhāyāvishṭo jayam "Jayo nāmetihāso'yam" iti vakshamāṇatvāj Jayasaṁjñaṁ Bhāratākhyam itihāsam vā.*

Ashṭādasa Purāṇāni Rāmasya charitaṁ tathā
Kārshṇaṁ vedaṁ pañchamaṁ cha yan Mahābhārataṁ viduḥ
Tathaiva Vishṇudharmaścha Śivadharmaścha śāśvataḥ
Jayeti nāma teshāṁ cha pravadanti manīshiṇaḥ
iti Bhavishyavachanāt purāṇādikaṁ vā

Chaturṇām purushārthānām api hetau jayo' striyām iti kośad anyaṁ vā purushārthapratipādakaṁ grantham Śārīrakasūtrabhāshyādirūpam udīrayed uchchārayet.

As an honest commentator Nīlakaṇṭha tries to give a positive significance to the word *tataḥ*, which P. C. Roy neglects and which he usually translates as "following, after that (i. e. after the triple *namasakāra*)". Nīlakaṇṭha attatches an immediate relationship between this adverb and the name of Sarasvatī which it precedes and he explains : "under the influence of this divinity who is all compassion". As for the word *jaya*, instead of giving it its usual sense of 'victory' he considers it as an appellation of the Mahābhārata itself, and he cites in support the text of the poem itself which expressly declares twice "this recitation, by name Jaya" I, 2302, XVIII, 194 (the same designation is applied to an episode of the epic, the Vidulāputranuśāsana V, 4539). He cites the authority of the Bhavishyapurāṇa which applies the name Jaya not only to the Mahābhārata, but also to the eighteen Purāṇas, to the Rāmāyaṇa, to the Vishṇudharmas and to the Śivadharmas. It also proposes to include within the scope of this designation the philosophical work of Vyāsa, the Śārirakasūtra, and subsidiarily the commentaries (of Śankara etc.) on the authority of a lexicon that also defines the work *jaya* "as all that causes the four human ends."

One can perhaps accuse Nīlakaṇṭha of an excessive subtlety; one can reproach him with attributing a purely

scholastic meaning to the work *jaya*, or even an imaginary meaning which can never be justified by the actual usage of the word in the literature and the language. Neverthless it is by a profound intuition of the realities of the languaage that he is led to instinctively reject the meaning adopted later by P. C. Roy and Western scholars. I do not believe that we can find a single authentic example in Sanskrit of the verb *udīrayati* constructed directly with a work signifying expression. I do not need to recall that *ud-īrayati* properly means "to set something going, to make climb in the air, to let off, etc." and from that, in a figurative sense, "to utter, to give forth, to emit (a sound)". But in the latter case the verb is always connected by a word which indicates the idea of sound : *na tam vācham udīrayet*, Manu II, 116 ; *vācham udīrayan*, Rāmāyaṇa 11, 57, 3 ; *udīrayāmāsuḥ... ālokaśabdam*, Raghu II, 9 ; *mantram udīrayan*, Yajñavalkya 1,136. One can no more say in Sanskrit, *jayam udīrayet* than in French "poussser la victoire (utter the victory)" to express the idea of "pousser un cri de victoire (utter a cry of victory)."

But before adopting the certainly tortuous meaning of Nīlakaṇṭha, it behoves us to examine if the text itself does not furnish a simpler and more probable meaning. Translating directly, without any bias : "Adoring Nārāyaṇa, and Nara the best of men, and also the goddess Sarasvatī who make victory to come forth." Let us not forget that the pair Nara-Nārāyaṇa are identical to Arjuna-Kṛishṇa ; the idea is proclaimend several times in the Mbh, e.g. I, 218, 7889 ; 224, 8161 ; 228, 8202 ; III, 47, 1888; V, 97, 3496 ; 111, 3824 ; VII, 11, 422, 77, 2707 ; etc. This well known equivalence also evokes of another formula similar to the preliminary benediction, which is found throughout the poem, and which expressed all its inspiration and which lives even now in the conscience of India as the highest teaching of the Mbh : *yataḥ Kṛshnaas tato jayaḥ*, I, 205, 7513 ; IV, 68, 2534, VI, 21, 771 ; 23, 821 ; IX, 624, 3494 ; XIII, 168, 7746 : "unde Kṛishṇa, inde victoria". In several cases the formula is completed by an analogous formula, *yato dharmas tataḥ Kṛishṇaḥ*...VI, 23, 821 ; IX, 624, 3491 ; the two combined thus

become, *yataḥ Krishṇas tato harmo yato dharmas tato jayaḥ*, XIII, 7746—"unde Kṛishṇa inde jus; unde jus, inde victoria; from which finally results the formula *yato dharmas tato jayaḥ*, VI, 65, 2695. In this form, the maxim seems to proclaim a lesson of absolute morality; right gives victory. But it is to falsify the very Principle of the Mbh. to make this interpretation. Without doubt the Mbh. is a didactic and moralising epic, but the epic, no less morality, carry the powerful imprint of the social and religious organisation of India; it is like all creations of the Hindu genius, a work of caste and sect. It is also the Fifth Veda, as it is called, and as it calls itself because the four Vedas of the Brāhmaṇas teach the holy life or rather the sacred life, while it teaches with an equal authority the warrior's life of the Kshatriyas. It is also the Kārshṇa Veda, "the Veda of Kṛishṇa", because it preaches to the kshtriyas, the cult of Krishṇa as a guarantee of success and salvation. Success for a kshatriya is in victory, *jaya*; salvation for a *kshatriya* lies in the god of the *kshatriyas*, Kṛishṇa. "Where Kṛishṇa is, there is victory; for, "if one has Kṛishṇa, one has all"—*yataḥ Krishṇas tataḥ sarve*; "Where Krishṇa is, there is dharma", the law proper of the *kshatriyas*, which commands them to fight, to conquer or die, which assigns to them their function of wielding the rod of command, *daṇḍa*, the rod which strikes the evil and which imposes respect for the laws. The Mbh. in its entirety is the illustration and the development of these principles. They converge and are illuminated in the Bhagvadgītā, that incomparable dialogue considered often as a sublime, if extraneous chapter, of the Mbh, but in reality the heart and centre of the entire work. The two inseperables, Kṛishṇa and Arjuna in whom are incarnated Nara and Nārāyaṇa, tutelary divinities of the epic, commune with each other, face to face, at the hour of supreme decision. The perfect warrior questions the Blessed One, Bhagavat, the perfect master of chivalry. He teaches him to follow without hesitation his own dharma in the context of universal dharma; he should spill without scruples the blood, even of his near ones, if the triumph of the good is to result from it. The metaphysical

speculations of the Brāhamaṇas, conceived through repugnance to action are for the *Kshatriya* in keeping with the necessity to act. Arjuna the perfect warrior is also the perfect devotee; free to choose between the effective alliance of divinities and the simple assistance of Kṛishaṇa as a chariot-driver, he chose Kṛishṇa as the promise of infallible success. Western critics, accustomed to consider the Mbh. as a treatise of absolute morality are often shocked by the acts committed by the Pāṇḍavas which go ill with the ideals of honour and chivalry: Yudhishṭhira employs a subterfuge to get rid of Droṇa; Bhīmsena strikes Duryodhana a foul blow. The author of the epic does not hesitate to lay the responsibility of these acts on Kṛishṇa himself (VII, 190, 8748; IX, 58, 3246); his transcendent wisdom knows and utilises these transactions necessary for the practical life. The end justifies the means when the end is the victory of right.

One should therefore not hesitate in translating, it would seem to me, the preliminary benediction as follows; "I adore Nārāyaṇa, and Nara, the best of men, and also the goddess Sarasvatī, because they bring forth victory."

If the interpretation I propose is correct, the laborious combinations built around the Mbh. fall to the ground. Some are even led to present the Mbh. as an artificial twisting of a previous poem which had for heroes Duryodhana and his brothers. It is at the same time simpler and more honest to take the poem as it is, to try and discover within it its own origin. That India had its own rhapsodists and minstrels who spread the recitations of the epic is not a matter for surprise; the conditions of feudal life favoured their growth. Perched in their strong castles, the rājās of other times, like the modern Rajputs, must have relaxed themselves between expeditions hearing the recital of legendary exploits; they must have waited with impatient curiosity the travelling bard who knew of the heroes of former times. But the epic is not a collection of epic songs merely strung together; it is a learned composition organised with art around a central theme, inspired by a dominant sentiment which pervades and penetrates it. In the West, where the

unity of the group affirms itself in national sentiment, it is the soul of the nation that inspires the poet. The Iliad, the Ennead, glorify Greece and Rome; the Pucelle of Chapelain, like the Henriade of Voltaire seeks to glorify France. Religious faith is also one of the strongest sentiments of community life and the epic derives inspiration from it. Jerusalem Delivree, Paradise Lost and the Messiade were written for the edification of Christianity. India never succeeded in isolating its national conscience in the above sense. She did not recognise her unity except through its social organisation and its pantheon. The Mahābhārata flows from this double source; it glorifies the *kshatriya* caste and the ideal role that is assigned to it in Hindu society. It also preaches to the *kshatriyas* the glory of God that ensures success and salvation. The adoration of Kṛishṇa that has accomplished so many miracles in Indian literature through the centuries is indeed worthy of giving to Hindu society its epic. Hindu India has concentrated in it all that it has ever received of grace, tenderness, sweetness and humanity. It is only the exquisite charm of this heroic and gallant figure that could have checked the Buddha. The one incarnates the ideals of a melancholy community, weary of the woes of life, without any consolation save the hope of nothingness. The other sought to attract to itself souls enamoured of action, adventures, mighty blows and gallant feats. Both of them accepted converts from India as well as beyond. Menander, the philosopher king was inclined towards Buddhism; but about the same time another Greek, Heliodoros of Taxila, ambassador of the king Antialcidas to an Indian prince dedicated himself to the God of the *kshatriyas*, and built a pillar of Garuḍa in honour of Vāsudeva, God of Gods. When the Kushāṇas founded a Scythin empire in India, one of the successors of Kanishka took to himself the name of Vāsudeva. With the lack of historical documents, these small indications, taken together with other indigenous evidences (inscriptions of Ghosūṇḍī, Nānāghāṭ), reveal the active propaganda of the Bhāgavatas in competition with the Buddhists.

From the style of composition also, the Bhāgavata epic seems to enter into deliberate competition with Buddhism. The Mbh. prides itself on being a "hundred-thousand" (*śatasāhasrī),* in other words a gigantic creation that surpasses the ordinary measure of merely human works. (*iti Śrī Mahābhārate śatasāhāsryām Saṁhitāyāṁ Vaiyāsikyām... parvaṇi... adhyāyaḥ*). The designation is well established in the usage of the fifth century; the inscription of Śarvanātha found at Khoh and dated 214 (Chedi era ?) explicitly refers to the Mbh. as "the collection of a hundred-thousand" (*uktaṁ cha Mahābharate śatasāhsryām Saṁhitāyām...*). And this designation inevitably recalls that fundamental work of Buddhist literature, "the hundred-thousand", Śatasāhasrikā, as it is best known, or to designate it by its full title, The Perfection of Knowledge in one hundred-thousand (lines), Śatasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā. Before being given its present form the work underwent successive reductions, in twenty-five thousand, in eight thousand (ashṭasāhasrikā : this is the classic form of the treatise), in seven hundred and in five hundred lines. The Śatasāhsrikā lends itself to this process of abbreviation without difficulty, it being sufficient to prune the tautologies, the homonyms, the redundancies and the repetitions that inflate and enlarge it. It is evident that the author had proposed to attain at all costs the enormous dimenstions which he had assigned to himself. In its continuous efforts towards the beautiful India had manifestly to pass the intermediary stage of the colossal ; before the enjoyment and realisation of the beauty in the harmonious equilibrium of lines, it allowed itself to be dazzled by the prestige of mass. In secular literature, the Bṛihatkathā presents a similar case ; Guṇādhya, the Vyāsa of stories, prided himself on writing a "Great History" ; but his work did not have as safeguard, as the Śatasāhasrī of Vyāsa and the Buddhist Śatasāhasrikā, the pious zeal of copyists ; it has not survived except in reduced adaptations : Kshemendra has taken out from it a bouquet (*mañjarī*) ; Buddhasvāmin has versified the abridgement (Ślokasaṁgraha) ; Somadeva formally calls himself an abbreviator (saṃgraham rachayāmy aham).

And it is to Buddhism that we will have to look again to find the most striking parallel to the Mbh. The school of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, that used Samskrit as its sacred language, and which had a strong literary tradition, has left behind an immense Vinaya, double at least in length to the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins which itself surpasses by far the Vinaya of other schools viz. Sthavira (Pali), Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, and Mahāsaṁghika. Its Vinaya is even larger than the Śatasāhasrikā; the Tibetan translation occupies thirty volumes in the Kanjur while the Śatasāhasrikā fills not more than twelve. Around the brief and dry prescriptions of monastic discipline, the redactor has accumulated the narratives, the stories, the jātakas, the episodes, not to speak of a veritable biography of Buddha, a kind of Buddhavaṁśa. comparable to the Harivaṁśa, an organic complement of the Mahābhārata. With all its overloading, all its episodes, its thick and luxuriant mass, the Mahābhārata carries at its base a Vinaya, the code of *kshatriya* discipline for the use of the Bhāgavatas.

पुराणसूक्तयः

यमो यम इति प्रोक्तो वृथा तूद्विजते जनः ।
आत्मा वै यमितो येन यमस्तस्य करोति किम् ॥

(पद्म०, सृष्टिखंड, १९।३२५)

प्रजापतिकृतं सेतुं त्यक्त्वा कः स्वस्तिमान् भवेत् ॥

(पद्म०, सृष्टिखंड, ३८।२७०)

इन्द्रियैरजितैर्नग्नो दुकूलेनापि संवृतः ।
तैरेव संवृतैर्गुप्तो न वस्त्रं कारणं स्मृतम् ॥

(लिङ्ग०, १।३४।१४)

STUDY OF A NEWLY ACQUIRED ŚĀRADĀ MANUSCRIPT OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

By

ANANDA SWARUP GUPTA

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठपरम्परायाः प्रतिनिधिभूतौ द्वौ कोशौ उज्जयिन्याः 'सिंधिया-ओरियन्टल-इन्स्टीट्यूट' नाम्नः संस्थानात्प्राप्य काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे तयोः पाठान्तराणां संवादः कृतः। तयोरेकः शारदालिपिकोशः, अपरश्च देवनागरीलिपिकोशः, एतयोः पाठान्तराणां संवादेनेदमनुमीयते यन्मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठसरणेः शाखाद्वयं संजातम्। काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयेऽपि केषाञ्चित् पुराणानां शारदालिपिकोशा विद्यन्ते। तेषामेकः शारदालिपिकोशः मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्ति। तस्य कोशस्याध्ययनेन परीक्षया चेदमवगम्यते यदयं काशीशारदालिपिकोशः उज्जयिनीशारदालिपिकोशात् पाठभेदादिषु भिद्यते, उज्जयिनीस्थ देवनागरीकोशेन च संवदति। अतोऽयं काशी-शारदालिपिकोशोऽपि काश्मीरपाठसरणेः शाखाद्वयसम्बन्धि पूर्वमनुमानं पुष्णाति। अस्मिल्लेखे काशीशारदालिपिकोशस्य उज्जयिनीकोशाभ्यां सह तुलनां कृत्वेदमेव तत्त्वं प्रतिपाद्यते]

Recently a large collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Kashmir has been purchased for the newly established Manuscripts-Dept. of the Banaras Hindu University. This collection consists of about fifteen hundred valuable Sanskrit Manuscripts, of which nearly five hundred are in Śāradā script—three written on *bhūrja-patra* (birch-leaf) and the rest on paper. Some of these Śāradā manuscripts belong to the Purāṇic literature, those of Matsya, Vāmana, Garuḍa, Bhāgavata, Śiva, Bṛihan-Nāradīya, Brahma-Vaivarta and Nila-mata* Purāṇas need specially to be mentioned. Devanāgarī mss. of this collection include some Purāṇa manuscripts also, which perhaps belong to the same textual tradition as that of the Śāradā manuscripts. It is proposed here to study some of the useful details of the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa (to be referred to as BŚ).

* The Nilamata Purāṇa deals with important religious and historical places of Kashmir.

On a close study of this B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. it will be seen that this Śāradā Ms. differs from the Matsya Purāṇa Śāradā Ms. of the Scindia Oriental Institute Ujjain (No. 4481), some important textual peculiarities of which I have already discussed in my articles in numbers 1 and 2 of Vol. I of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. The Matsya Purāṇa Devanāgarī Ms. of the same Institute of Ujjain (No. 4646) also represents the Kashmirian version of the Matsya Purāṇa, but it also differs from the above mentioned Ujjain Śāradā Ms. (to be referred to as UŚ) in many respects. The B. H. U. Śāradā Ms., however, has close similarity with this Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (to be referred to as UD), which will be clear from a comparison of these two manuscripts.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BŚ MANUSCRIPT

The B. H. U. Śāradā manuscript belongs to Collection IV of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Banaras Hindu University. It is written breadthwise (like *bhūrja-patra* manuscripts) in clear, bold Sāradā characters on thick country made paper, and is dated Saṁvat 36 (which is probably the *Saptarshi* saṁvat 4836), and śāka 1683 (A, D. 1761). It contains 228 folios of 12·3″ × 9·5″ size, each page containing about 26 lines, and each line about 35 letters. No folio is missing, but one or two pages and parts of a few pages are left blank apparently for the reason that the scribe considered the corresponding portions of the original worn out or missing, which lacunae he might have intended to fill up afterwards from some other exemplar. The text extends from the beginning upto the end of Adh. 263 of the Ān. edn. of the Matsya Purāṇa. The last colophon and the post-colophon statement read as follows :—

इति मत्स्यपुराणे देवतार्चानुकीर्त्तनं ॥ समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम् ॥ संवत् ३६. [The scribe at first copies the sentence 'समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम्' from the exemplar and then strikes off this sentence and remarks—

1. See the plate of the last page of this B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. appended after page 162 of Vol. I (No. 2) of 'Purāṇa'.

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'अस्य पुस्तकस्येतःपरं शिष्टं प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा, प्रासादनिर्माणं, भविष्यद्राजकीर्त्तनं, महादानादि च ॥' and then writes 'मत्स्यपुराणं समाप्तम् श्रीशाकः १६८३]।'

The Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. also ends after the Ān. Adh. 263, and gives the similar colophon (except the date and the scribal remarks)—

इति मत्स्यपुराणे शिवतार्चानुकीर्त्तनं । शुभमस्तु ॥
समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणमिति शुभं ॥

So it seems probable that both these Mss. represent some old Kashmirian text of the Matsya Purāṇa which extended upto the end of the Ān. Adh. 263. The post-colophon remarks of the BŚ scribe give only an indication of the extent of the Matsya Purāṇa text which was known in his time and which is still the vulgate text of the printed editions of the Matsya Purāṇa.

BŚ does not number the ślokas, and no virāmadaṇḍas are given after the ślokas. Adhyāyas are generally numbered both in words and figures, and sometimes in figures and words only. Although the scribe has been quite careful and faithful in copying this manuscript, yet the Ms. contains certain scribal errors, and adhyāyas and folios also are sometimes numbered wrongly. Folios 190, 191, 192 are numbered as 110, 111, 112, and thereafter all the remaining 36 folios are numbered anew (from 1 to 36) in Devanāgarī and not in Śāradā. It does not contain any marginalia except a few corrections here and there. There are two kinds of lacunae in this Ms., some lacunae are marked with dots or small horizental lines probably to show that the corresponding portions in the original were either quite illegible or completely worn out, folio 46 is full of such lacunae; the other kind of lacunae are indicated by leaving a page or its portion blank probably to show that the corresponding portions of the text were missing in the original and the BŚ scribe intended to fill up such lacunae afterwards

from some other exemplar. Thus the latter half of folio 62A, whole of 62 B and about ⅔ of 63 A have been left blank. Sometimes a missing portion of the original is indicated here by a *Kākapada* sign (⌅), such as on folio 157 A, line 12.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN BŚ AND UD MSS.

There are certain striking similarities between the B.H.U. Śāradā MS. and the Ujjain Devanāgarī MS. of Matsya Purāṇa, which clearly show that both these manuscripts are closely allied, and that they must have been copied from one original. Below are given a few cases of such striking similarities.

(1) The beginning and end of both these MSS. are almost similar. BŚ begins as follows :—

ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते व (वा ?) सुदेवाय मत्स्यरूपाय ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ ॐ प्रचण्डताण्डवाटोपप्रक्षिप्तो-त्क्षिप्तदिग्गजाः भवन्तु विविधाकारा विघ्नौघपरिशान्तये पातालादुत्पतिष्णो-र्मकरवसतयो यस्य पुच्छाभिघातादूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्डखण्डव्यतिकरमवनि-व्यत्ययेनापराद्धः सोयं मत्स्यावतारः सकलवसुमतीमण्डलं व्यादधानस्तस्या-स्योदीरिताना (नां ?) ध्वनिरवहरतादश्रियं वः श्रुतीनाम् । ॐ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॐ अजोपि यः क्रियायोगान्नारायण इति स्मृतः । त्रिगुणाय त्रिवर्गाय नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे सूतमेकाग्रमासीनं नैमिषारण्यवासिनः मुनयो दीर्घ-सत्रान्ते पप्रच्छुर्दिव्यसंहिता (ताम् ?)

UD also has a similar beginning except some minute variations, such as ॐ स्वस्ति श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वास्व (सु ?) देवाय मत्स्यरूपाय ॥ ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै. The Ujjain Śārada Ms., however, differs in some respects from the BŚ and UD MSS.; e.g, it begins as ॐ नमो विघ्नहर्त्रे ॥ ॐ नमः सद्गुरुभ्यः, reads हरे विघ्नौघशान्तये for विघ्नौघपरिशान्तये, transposes the two ślokas नारायणं नमस्कृत्य......जय-मुदीरयेत् and अजोपियः......स्वयंभुवे, and inserts the words श्री व्यासः †

† Both BŚ and UD amit the words श्री व्यासः here, but in UD the words श्री व्यासः are written in the margin in some later hand, and this correction has been made probably from the Ujjain Śarada Ms., for many readings from the U have been noted on the margins of UD by some later reviser or reader.

before the śloka सूतमेकाग्रमासीनं ······संहिताम्.

BŚ and UD end as follows :—

एवंविधं तु यल्लिङ्गं भवेत्तत्सार्वकामिकम् अन्यथा यद्भवेल्लिङ्गं तदशस्तं प्रशस्यते एवं रत्नमयं कुर्यात्स्फाटिकं पार्थिवं तथा शोभादारुमयं वापि यद्वा मनसि राजते ॥

Then both the MSS. have almost a similar colophon and a post-colophon statement, which have already been given above.

(2) Most of the chapter colophons of both these MSS. are also similar, and differ from those of the US MS. A few such similar chapter-colophons are given below :—

(a) इति मत्स्यपुराणे मनुविष्णुसंवादे प्रथमोध्यायः (BŚ and UD)
(इति मत्स्यपुराणे मनुवरलाभो नाम प्रथमोध्यायः—UŚ)

(b) इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे अ·······श्राद्धे (अग्निमत्श्राद्धे ?) श्राद्धकल्पो नाम षोडशोध्यायः (BŚ)
इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे अ····म श्राद्धे श्राद्धकल्पो नाम षोडशोध्यायः(UD)
(इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे श्राद्धकल्पो नाम षोडशोध्यायः—UŚ)

(c) इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे श्राद्धकल्पो नाम ॥ २२ (BŚ and UD)
(इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे श्राद्धकल्पे तीर्थानुसेवनं नाम द्वाविंशोध्यः UŚ)

(d) इति मत्स्यपुराणे यायाते शक्रययाति संवादः ॥ ३६ ॥
(इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे, सोमवंशे ययातिचरिते ययातिशक्रसंवादः षट्त्रिंशोध्यायः—UŚ)

(e) इति मत्स्यपुराणे ययाति पतनं अध्यायः (BŚ and UD)
(इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे ययातिचरिते ययातिपतनमध्यायः— UŚ)

(f) इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे भुवनकोशे जम्बूद्वीपवर्णने नवकवर्षवर्णनम् ॥ ९४ ॥ (BŚ and UD)

(UŚ splits this Adhyāya into two Adhyāyas with the

Colophons—'इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे भारतवर्षवर्णनं नाम and 'इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे भुवनकोशे जम्बूद्वीपवर्णनं नाम')

(3) Both the Mss. contain similar lacunae ; e. g.—

(a) The latter half of the Ān. Adh. 74 (कल्याणसप्तमीव्रतं) and the whole of Adh. 75 (विशोकसप्तमीव्रतं) are missing in both BŚ and UD. In BŚ the folios 62 A (latter half), 62 B and 63 A (first ⅔ portion) have been left blank here to indicate the lacunae, but in UD. this missing portion is given in a separate śodhapatra in some later hand apparently from UŚ. which does not miss this portion.

(b) On folio 175 A, line 12 of BŚ Ms., there is a lacunum marked with a *Kākapada* sign (λ) after the half-śloka 'यथा च तपसा दृष्ट्वा बृहस्पतिसमन्वितः (Ān. Adh. 164, Śl. 17 ab) and this *Kākapada* sign is immediately followed by the śloka 'आश्रमाणां विपर्यासः कलौ संपरिवर्तते etc. (Ān. Adh. 165 śl. 18). Here UD also contains this same lacunum but unlike BŚ, it marks this lacunum with dots and not by a Kākapada sign.

(c) In both the Mss. Ān. Adh. 240 (यात्रा निमित्तकालयोज्य-चिन्तानाम) and Adh. 241 (यात्रानिमित्त देहस्पन्दनं नाम) are missing.

[Ān. Adh. 242 (यात्रानिमित्ते स्वप्नाध्यायः) occurs in both the Mss., and the first śloka of this Adh. has the same reading in both the Mss, Ān. reading ; Ān. Adh. 343 (यात्रानिमित्ते मङ्गलाध्यायः) is missing only in UD. and not in BŚ]

(4) In their Adhyāya-colophons and Adhyāya-numbers both have often committed the same mistake ; e.g. both have औवंपाख्यानं for और्वोपाख्यानं (U Ś), and प्रवनुकीर्त्तने for प्रवरानुकीर्त्तने (UŚ), तारकवदः for तारकवधः and दण्डपाणिवरप्रधानं for °प्रदानं. After the Adhyāya which is numbered 54 the next Adhyāya is also numbered 54 in both the Mss., but the next Adhyāya is correcely numbered as 56 in both. Sometimes the same Adhyāya-numbers are omitted in both these Mss.

(5) Both the Ujjain Devanāgarī and the B. H. U. Śāradā Mss. differ from the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. in several important respects ; e. g.

(a) The Ujjain Śāradā Ms. adds the genealogy of the *Ikshvākus* after the genealogy of the *Soma-Vaṁśa*, but U D and B Ś do not give this genealogy of the Ikshvāku dynasty. [In U D this genealogy of the Ikshvāku kings is given in a separate Śodhapatra in a later hand.]

(b) The Ujjain Śāradā Ms. divides the Ān. Adh. 154 (having some 603 ślokas) into eleven separate Adhyāyas, but U D and B Ś have not divided this Adhyāya at all.

(6) There are other cases of similarities also, e. g. both the Mss. do not number their ślokas, have no virāmadaṇḍas except on both sides of Adhyāya-colophons, and both often give a dot after the hundreth digit of the numbers of Adhyāyas and folios.

These are some of the similarities found between the B. H. U. Sāradā Ms. and the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa, which clearly show their close alliance. These similarities also point to similarities of the reading of their texts ; but as the UD Ms. has been returned to Ujjain, and the collation sheets have also been sent to Madras for editing-purpose, it is not possible at present to give specific instances of the textual similarities of these two Mss.

BŚ BASED ON SOME DEVANĀGARĪ MS.

On a close scrutiny of some of the corrupt readings of the B. H. U. Sāradā Ms., it may be safely inferred, as in the case of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms.,* that this B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. is also based on some Kashmirian Devanāgarī manuscript. The want of space does not permit us to go into elaborate details of this question; but a few instances of such corrupt readings as definitely prove its Devanāgarī source are given here.

* See my article on the Devanāgarī source of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa, published on pp. 163-174 of Vol. I of the 'Purāṇa'.

(1) On folio 155 B, line 27-28, it reads 'तद्यश्च प्रतिकूला वै वहन्ति कलुषोदकाः', the scribe has himself corrected on the lower margin the faulty reading तद्यश्च and rewrites the whole line as 'नद्यश्च प्रतिकूला वै वहन्ति कलुषोदकाः'. As the Śāradā symbols for letter त and न are quite distinct from each other and have no possibility for confusion, and the Devanāgarī letters त and न being somewhat similar in shape, are most likely to be confused, the corrupt reading तद्यश्च (tadyaścha) must have been the result of the confusion of the letter न (n) of the Devanāgarī word नद्यश्च (nadyaścha) with letter त (t).

(2) On the first page (line 1) of the folio 193 (numbered as 1 in Devanāgarī, there is the corrupt reading 'त्वत्यादमूलसेवा च' in place of the correct reading 'त्वत्पादमूलसेवा च', and on line 18 of the same page again there is the corrupt reading 'चलत्यर्वतसन्निभैः' in place of the correct reading चलत्पर्वतसन्निभैः'. The conjunct letters त्य (tya) for त्प (tpa) could only be written if this Śāradā Ms. was copied from some Devanāgarī Ms.

(3) Some of the Adhyāya-numbers and folio-numbers of the BŚ Ms. are written in Devanāgarī and not in Śāradā; e. g. the Adhyāya-number 81 (on folio 75A) is written in Devanāgarī, and the folio-numbers from 1 to 36 after the folio 192 (wrongly written as 112) are all given in Devanāgarī, and not in Śāradā. Again Adhyāya-numbers 139 and 191 are written as ०'३९ and ०'९१ respectively where the hundredth digit is written in Śāradā and the rest in Devanāgarī. All this shows that the scribe of this BŚ Ms. knew the Devanāgarī script and was most probably copying from some Devanāgarī exemplar.

The close similarity of the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. with the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. and its textual and other notable differences from the Ujjain Sāradā Ms. may lead us to infer that there were at least two textual traditions of the Matsya Purāṇa in Kashmir, the one represented by the Ujjain Sāradā Ms, and the other represented by the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. in common with the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. The importance of the B. H. U. Sāradā Ms. lies in the fact that this Ms. confirms such an inference, which was at first vaguely based on the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. alone.

IKSHVĀKU GENEALOGY IN THE PURĀṆAS

By

Rai Krishnadasa*

[अस्मिन् निवन्धे इक्ष्वाकुवंशावलीमधिकृत्य विचारः प्रस्तूयते। एतद्विषयिका सामग्री पञ्चदशसु पुराणेषूपलभ्यते तेषां पञ्चदशानां चतुर्षु वर्गेषु विभागं कृत्वा तुलनात्मकदृष्ट्या राज्ञामनुक्रमः स्पष्टीकृतः, वंशसूची चानुसंधान-दृष्ट्या निर्णीता। पार्जिटरमहोदयेन यदस्मिन्विषये पूर्वं संशोधनं कृतं तस्याप्यत्र पुनः समीक्षा कृता। अस्या वंशावल्यास्त्रयो भागा—१. मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य पुत्राद् इक्ष्वाकोः आरभ्य अहीनगुं यावत्, २. अहीनगुमारभ्य बृहद्बलपर्यन्तं, यो महा-भारतयुद्धे निपातितः। तृतीयो भागः भारतयुद्धादनन्तरं भविष्यराजवृत्तान्ते परिगण्यते। अस्मिन् लेखे नवनवतिनृपसंख्याकं पूर्वं भागद्वयमेव विमर्शस्य विषयीकृतम्]

Dynastic lists constitute a principal and authentic portion of the Purāṇas. Pargiter examined this evidence in a very scholarly way which demonstrates its authenticity and carries conviction. By the same method the list of Ikshvāku kings is being re-examined here. Sita Nath Pradhan and Bhagwad Datt also worked in the manner of Pargiter, but their conclusions are involved and in a way tending to differ from Pargiter.

The Purāṇas seem to have recorded the historical tradition from persons whose main function was the preservation of archaic facts. There is the recent tendency to compare the Purāṇic evidence with the Vedic sources. If this method be pursued logically, it becomes clear that the dynastic names occuring in the Vedas confirm the Purāṇic lists. This is specially proved in the case of a substantial portion of the list of Uttara-Pañchāla kings.

It would be a travesty of correct methodology to imagine that the Purāṇa lists were worked out from Vedic sources. If this were so, then each king or dynasty mentioned in the Vedas

*Translated from Hindi original by V. S. Agrawala.

would find its counterpart in a Purāṇic list. On the contrary there are many names in the Vedas of particular kings, or of their one or two generations about whom the Purāṇas know nothing. If the Purāṇa writers had concentrated on the Vedic material, they would naturally have accorded the foremost place to the Uttara-Pañchāla kings, because this royal family had received the highest place in the Ṛigveda, which devotes substantial attention to the line of the Bharatas that ruled in Uttara-Pañchala. The Ṛigveda being a contemporaneous document of the Pañchālas helps us to reconstruct a list of the kings of that dynasty. All Purāṇic royal lists, however, are not confirmed by the Ṛigveda. This fact cannot upset the truth of the Purāṇic lists.

The list given in the Purāṇas seem to have existed from antiquity and compiled at a contemporaneous epoch. If these had been fabricated later, some of them would not have been found incomplete or with gaps or in varying versions. At least with respect to the main Purāṇic dynasties like the Matsyas, the Nishadhas, etc., the fabricaters would have shown their art. The reality and historic references associated with these lists show that they were genuine and rooted in factuality.

The Brāhmaṇas in ancient times enjoyed a privileged literary position, but they did not care to invent any such lists about themselves. This also shows that they were working on authentic material when writing about kings.

The Purāṇic royal lists also very often mention the birth of Brāhmaṇa families and of gotras as scions of royalty. Such references not being complimentary to Brahmanical succession would be absent if the genealogical lists of Kings were not based on fact. The picture of Aryan expansion in India as available by piecing together the accounts of genealogies gives support to the modern findings of ethnological and linguistic distributions in India. Such a contingency would be impossible in case the Purāṇic genealogies were imaginary. This seems to be the strongest argument in support of these lists. More-

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over, the period of glory of those kings had ended with the Mahābhārata war. The Purāṇic authors would not busy themselves to invent something about kings who were dead and gone.

In the Purāṇas the history of kings is told genealogy-wise. Each dynasty had its own Sūta who compiled and preserved the वंशानुचरित of their kings. In so doing they incorporated at the appropriate place whatever they wanted to record about each important king.

Such genealogies were known as Vamśa or Vamśa-purāṇa lists which were the main source of the Purāṇic accounts of genealogies. Such ancient Vaṁśas do not now exist outside the Purāṇic description. The existing genealogies in the Purāṇas show that there also existed more than one version of the orginal Vaṁśa lists.

The Purāṇa Saṁhitā compiled by Vyāsa underwent four redactions at the hands of his pupils, based on four different versions of the archaic traditions, and the present authors of the Purāṇas based their accounts on those different traditions, which is responsible for the variations in the Vaṁśa-lists.

The dynastic lists in the Purāṇas have suffered several discrepancies owing to faulty transmission or the unhistorical point of view of the compilers, e.g. :—

(1) The gāthā about King Vishṇu-Vṛiddha of the Ikshvāku family in the Vishṇu P. is misplaced.

(2) In the Brahmāṇda P. several names are left out, and several lines are broken.

(3) At several places necessary comments have been left out leading to some confusion, as, for example, in the list of Avanti-kings of the post-Mahābhārata period there has been some confusion. Similarly the list of the Śākya branch of the future Ikshvāku family has got mingled up with the Ikshvāku genealogy.

(4) The forms of the royal names have also become changed.

Of the Purāṇic dynastic lists the genealogy of Ikshvāku kings alone is the best preserved, most complete, and probably unbroken. It may be divided into three portions for facility of treatment :—

(1) From the beginning; i. e. from the time of Vaivasvata Manu to that of Ahīnagu;

(2) From the successors of Ahīnagu to the time of the Mahābhārata war or the end of the Dvāpara;

(3) The Ikshvāku kings of the Kali Age who ruled in the post-Mahābhārata period.

We propose to discuss here only the first two portions of this list.

The Ikshvāku dynastic list is found in the following fifteen Purāṇas that may be divided into four groups :—

I. Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Vishṇudharmottara and Devī-Bhāgavata ;

II. Brahma, Harivaṁśa, and Śiva ;

III. Kūrma and Liṅga ;

IV. Matsya, Padma and Agni.

The Mahābhārata gives the list from the beginning up to Dhundhumāra. Amongst these the Vāyu is decidedly the oldest, the Brahmāṇḍa follows it almost literally. The present Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa appear to be two recensions of a single original ; hence the Brahmānḍa calls itself Vāyu-prokta. The Vishṇu and Bhāgavata belong to this group, but having mainly a religious interest and being subsequent productions, did not care about historical explanations or comments, or else lent to them a religious complexion. The list in Vishṇu is in prose and that of Bhāgavata in verses, the latter being composed by the author of the Bhāgavata differs from that of Vishṇu. The list in Garuḍa belongs to this group and the verses were composed by its author himself. The Ikshvāku list in the Vishṇu-Dh. and Devī-Bhāgavata are incomplete, and although they follow the Vāyu version, the ślokas in each are

their own. The list in the Mahābhārata upto Dhundhumāra is similar to Vāyu, and the ślokas also resemble. Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Vishṇu-Dharmottara and Devī-Bhāgavata belong to a latter stratum of literary composition, still they give us many useful details. For the sake of convenience this version of the Ikshvāku genealogy may be designated as the Vāyu recension. Its chief feature is that it includes the names of all the Ikshvāku rulers and also contains historical comments in proper places.

The second recension is based on Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva Purāṇa which we may name as the Brahma recension. The reading of Brahma and Harivaṁśa are almost literally the same, Śiva also follows it more or less closely. This version is in all details similar to that of Vāyu, excepting that between Kalmāshapāda and Dilīpa there is a difference of six or seven kings, which as will be seen later is significant. This version of the genealogy may have been based on a different recension of the original Vaṁśa.

The third recension is based on the Kūrma and Linga Purāṇas and may be named as the Kūrma version. Of this list, the names from Manu to Ahīnagu are generally the same as of Vāyu, but the list after that up to the end of Dvāpara is entirely different.

The fourth recension is that of the Matsya (a Purāṇa of almost the same antiquity as Vāyu), which includes the Padma and Agni also. Of these the Matsya and Padma are literally the same. The Agni gives only the names of kings in its own verses. This redaction was based upon a version of the Vaṁsa with the following special featurss :—

(a) The names of unimportant kings are left out ;

(b) From Manu to Ahīnagu this follows the Brahma list, and thereafter upto the end of Dvāpara the Kūrma list. This gives to this version its own importance, and the list may have been based upon an independent original.

The above four recensions of the Ikshvāku genealogy fall into two groups, firstly that of Vāyu and Brahma which

are similar, and secondly of Kūrma and Matsya which also have much identity. The above classified grouping has been proposed with a view to the Ikshvāku dynastic list from Manu to Bṛihadbala. Possibly other dynastic lists may dictate different groupings. We shall strive to fix a probable version of Ikshvāku genealogy by a study of these four groups.

Here an important point is to note the meaning of the word 'Vaṁśa'. We find its use in three other places; namely. (1) Vaṁśa Brahmaṇa in Vedic literature, (2) Ṛishivaṁśa in the Purāṇas, and (3) Buddha-Vaṁśa in Buddhistic literature. In these three places nowhere is Vaṁśa indicative of family list. In the Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa it stands for a line of teachers and pupils through which they inherited the succession of Vedic Śākhās. The Ṛishi-Vaṁśa of the Purāṇas relates to the line of special Ṛishis who were born in succession to the original founder of the family and who became distinguished as Pravara teachers and who founded different family Branches. In the Buddha-Vaṁśa the line of succession is not from father to son, but of the twenty-five Great Men who obtained Buddhahood amongst whom Siddhārtha was the last.

The above uses indicate that the word Vaṁśa did not denote family succession only but also other kinds of succession.

Therefore when they spoke of the Iksvāku Vaṁśa it was not recording the line from father to son, but giving the names of rulers as they came one after another. This Ikśvāku Vaṁśa must have had several branches. The Purāṇas do hint at such branches, but without recording their genealogical lists.*

The relationship between the names occuring in this list is of four kinds :—

(1) B was the son of A ; or A was the father of B ;

(2) B came from A (no relationship is indicated).

* E. G. (a) The fourteenth Ikshvāku ruler दृढाश्व had two more brothers and the three gave rise to three different branches, (b) Reṇuka was an Ikṣvāku king, his daughter Reṇukā was the mother of Paraśurāma. This Reṇuka belonged to some other Ikshvāku branch.

(3) B was begotten by A, or came after A (no relationship is indicated).

(4) B was heir to A

Of these in the case of (2) and (3) it was not necessary that A and B should be father and son. In the case of (4) B was only a successor of A. It was remarkable that even in the case of where B is said to be a son of A this relationship was not intended to be factual, for the word पुत्र also had the sense of a successor or follower, as in the case of Śākya-putra. Another instance is that दल and बल of the Ikshvāku family were real brothers, but in the list बल is said to be the son of दल. Therefore in the genealogical list Pitā may also indicate a predecessor and Putra his successor. Amongst the Ikshvākus the succession was not always from father to son, but the kingship was elective in which the people also had a hand. The council of ministers also exercised their influence in the choice of kings, because of which the ministers enjoyed the title of King-Makers. (राजकर्त्तारः). In the case of such kings it was necessary for them to be of Ikshvāku blood but not to be of the same branch or related as father and son; or to be the successor was not always to be the eldest son, but the best with respect to his virtues. This practice prevailed up to the time of the Śākyas. Let us take a few examples:

(1) Hariśchandra is called a Vaidhasa in the Śatapatha. The name of Vedhas does not occur in any Ikshvāku list. The eighth predecessor of Hariśchandra, king Trasadasyu, was the heir of his predecessor, Purukutsa. Vedhas might have been a predecessor in that particular Ikshvāku line in which Trasadasyu was born and hence Hariśchandra, the eighth descendant of Trasadasyu, was also called Vaidhasa, owing to his being descended from a predecessor called Vedhas. It points to the fact that Hariśchandra belonged to a different Ikshvāku line, and being a ruler was admitted into the list of Trasadasyu line.

(2) Similarly Ṛituparṇa is said to be the son of Bhṛiṅgāśva in the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The name

of भृंगाश्व does not occur in the present Ikshvāku list. Hence this Ṛituparṇa must have been born in some different branch of the Ikshvāku family; his name occurs in the genealogical list, since he became the royal successor. For this very reason he is said to be the heir of his predecessor, king Ayutāyu. The same is indicated by his patronymic Bhārṅgāśva (भार्ङ्गाश्व) since Bhṛiṅgāśva was an ancestor of his branch.

(3) After Kalmāshapāda and before Dilīpa II, the Vāyu and Kūrma versions give seven names, but Matsya and Brahma give only five or six, both of which are entirely different as follows :—

The intervening names between कल्माषपाद and दिलीप II are so entirely different that their identity (excepting perhaps that of विश्वसह and दुलिदुह) seems to be impossible; nor is it possible to disown the one and accept the other, because the preceding names in both versions are the same according to all the Purāṇas, and also after the difference of this limited sector the names from दिलीप II upto अह्नीनगु are generally the same. This confusion

in the two lists points to the situation that for some generations there were two simultaneous branches accepted by the people as their rulers.

The fact also seems to have been like this : कल्माषपाद lost his throne because of a religious feud. At that time there were two sects, one being adherent of Varuṇa and the other of Indra. The first was older and the second comparatively new. The second one was in the ascendency, still the old one had its staunch followers. The traditional Mantrin-cum, Purohita family of the Vasishṭhas pledged its devotion to Varuṇa, hence the family was called 'Āpava' and 'Maitrā-Varuṇi'. On the other hand Viśvāmitra stood to lend his support for Indra, inasmuch as Indra himself began to be called Kauśika after Viśvāmitra's family-name 'Kauśika', and his predecessor Kuśika was identified with Indra himself. In this religious feud Kalmāshapāda, a supporter of Viśvāmitra came to grief for his proving oppressive to the Vasishṭha family.

There are several versions of this calamity of Kalmāshapāda, as preserved in the accounts of the Bṛihaddevatā, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas. These legends will be considered at some other time. Suffice it here to say that Kalmāshapāda remained deposed for many years. It is said that Vasishṭha begot by levirate on his queen Madayantī a son named Aśmaka. We also know of a long drawn fierce struggle between the families of Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, in which the Jāmadagnayas who were related to and also the religious followers of Viśvāmitra supported him. This mutual hostility between the two families of priests continued even after Kalmāshapāda. Against this background it seems proper to infer that one of the two lists of kings mentioned above was attached to Viśvāmirta and the other to Vasishṭha, but one or the other king from the two lists often wavered in his loyalty for fear of earning the wrath of the other band. Hence, we find that the fury and attack of the Jāmadagnyas were directed against Sarvakarmā of the Matsya list and also

against Mūlaka of the Vāyu list, both of whom were almost contemporaries.

(4) The names from Dilīpa II to Ahīnagu of the Ikshvāku list as found in Matsya-Kūrma versions agree with those in the Vāyu-Brahma versions, but after that the Vāyu and Brahma give thirty-one names of whom the last Bṛihadbala was killed in the Mahābhārata war, as against the Matsya and Kūrma which give only six names, and those too are entirely different. It is well-known that Rāmachandra had divided his kingdom amongst his sons and nephews, thus bringing into existence several Ikshvāku kingdoms of smaller pretensions. It seems that for the post-Ahīnagu period the Matsya and Kūrma versions have taken their lists from one of these smaller Ikshvāku branches.

In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, there is a genealogical list of the Ikshvākus from Manu to the time of Rāma. This list widely differs from the list in the Purāṇas. The difference is chiefly two-fold :—(a) in the Purāṇic lists there are sixty-three generations from Ikshvāku to Rāma, whereas in Vālmīki the number is only thirty-six (b) the names in the two lists also widely differ. Of the thirty-six names in the Rāmāyāṇa, only eighteen are common in the two lists up to Rāma.

Besides the Ikshvāku list, Vālmīki gives three other genealogies, viz, (1) of Kuśika family, (2) of the Vaiśālī dynastic rulers, and (3) of Janaka family. These three lists are generally the same as given in the Purāṇas. Under these circumstances the divergence between the Rāmayaṇa and the Purāṇas in respect of the Ikshvāku genealogy must be due to more special reasons, since the Rāmayaṇa is the great store-house of the Ikshvāku legends and traditions. It is impossible that a work like that of Vālmīki should have incorporated the genealogy of any minor branch. It seems reasonable to infer that the Ikshvāku list of Vālmīki belongs to that line in which Rāma was born, and which in fact had been the main line from the time of Ikshvāku. Consequently, of the main Vaṁśa only such names are found

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in the Purānic lists as were elected to the throne, leaving the rest of the names in the two lists to be different. This argument finds support in the fact that amongst the eighteen names common to the two lists, the groups of five, two, two, five, three have the same order of precedence as in the Purāṇic lists. (Please consult the tables *infra.*)

As against this it may be argued that out of the eighteen nams the three remaining ones are not in the same order in which they should be, hence this list is not worthy of credit. To this we may reply that these names are either secondary names (अपर नाम) of the persons in the Purānic lists—e. g. the name Asita of Vālmiki's list is equivalent to Bāhu. Bāhu was not only a predecessor of Sagara but also his father, and similarly the other two names were also secondary to the names in the Purānic lists or amongst the two lists two different persons bearing identical names also possessed these secondary names. On the whole our argument does not suffer by this reasoning against it.*

As to the difference in the number of generations there is also a satisfactory explanation. One generation of a ruler means an average of 15 years, which in the case of a person in the family list is 25 years. Calculated on this basis, 63 generations of rulers are equal to 945 (63 × 15) years, and 36 generations of family genealogy from father to son occupy

*Pargiter had adduced two more reasons to prove the unauthentic nature of this genealogy—firstly, Nahusha and Yayāti, the two names occuring one after another in this list were also Kings in the Aila dynastic lists. To this we reply that Nahusha and Yayāti were not exclusive names for the Chandra or Aila dynasty. They could also be adopted among others. This is also seen that if a particular person is named after his ancestor then he names his son after the name of the son of that ancestor. The same seems to have been the case here. Moreover in the Ṛigveda we find the name Nahusha Mānava and Yayāti Nāhusha amongst Ṛishis, of whom the former is certainly the same as Nahusha of Vālmiki, because Mānava as an ancestral name (अभिजन नाम) has been used elsewhere for the Ikshvākus. This piece of evidence lends additional support to the list in Vālmiki. The second argument of Pargiter states that in the Rāmāyaṇa list there are six such names as occur in the same order in the Purānic list after Rāma. To this also we make a similar reply based on the natural desire of persons to name their sons after some hoary ancestors.

almost the same period that is about 900 years (36 x 25). Vālmīki's list gives definite proof of the fact that the Ikṣvāku list in the Purāṇas is that of a ruling dynasty; in other words its names and their order follow the succession of rulers, constituted of the names of persons belonging to one or the other branches of the Ikshvāku family.

(6) The Purāṇas also contain several family genealogical lists like those of the Yādavas, Sātvatas and Vṛishṇis. Their nature is entirely different from that of the Ikshvāku list, and they abound in so many refrences to ramifications of families and to internal relationships, that in comparison to them the Purāṇic Ikshvāku list can not be anything else except the list of Ikshvāku ruling kings. It does not seem necessary to adduce any more argument, since we have thrown sufficient light on the characteristic features of the Purāṇic Ikshvāku list, and we have probably succeeded in showing that the list of royal names there belongs to successive rulers of a dynasty and not to any ancestral list of father and son.

The available lists also show the following features :—

(a) The names of uterine brothers also occur in the Ikshvāku list. At one or more places even family names are found. But this happens only when such persons had any political significance; the uterine brothers may have succeeded one another, or may have been the founder of new branches, or become martyrs to some cause. Similarly a female name is mentioned if her son was the ruler.

(b) Such persons as did not become kings or rulers are mentioned only if they were connected with some great political event.

After this introduction it now remains to reconstruct a precise and undisputed list of the Ikshvāku genealogy as based on the several Purāṇic versions mentioned above. This list is as follows :—

मनु वैवस्वत*

I

1. इक्ष्वाकु
2. विकुक्षि = देवराट्-शशाद, and 99 other sons.
3. पुरंजय = ककुत्स्थ = इन्द्रवाह and 14 other sons
4. अनेता = सुयोधन (अयोधन)
5. पृथु
6. दृषदश्व (विश्वगश्व, विष्टराश्व)
7. आर्द (आद्र, आर्द्र, आन्ध्र, चान्द्र)
8. युवनाश्व I
9. श्रावस्त
10. वत्सक† (वंशक, वत्सुक)
11. बृहदश्व
12. कुवलाश्व = धुन्धुमार
13. दृढाश्व भद्राश्व (दंडाश्व, चन्द्राश्व) कपिलाश्व

In these lists the names of uterine brothers have been mentioned only if they were founders of new

* The Purāṇas give the following order of Manu's progeny :—

मनु वैवस्वत

(इल) इक्ष्वाकु नाभाग धृष्ट शर्याति नरिष्यन्त प्रांशु नाभानेदिष्ट करूष पृषध्र (इला)

† See Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañchalakshaṇa*, p. 345. According to the Matsya and Padma of the Matsya-group and Liṅga of the Kūrma-group वत्सक was the son of श्रावस्त. The collated reading of that verse is as follows :—

श्रावस्तश्च महातेजो वत्सकस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।
वत्साच्च बृहदश्वोऽभूत्कुवलाश्वस्ततोऽभवत् ॥

branches (वंशधर), or themselves rulers. In the present context the two brothers of दृढाश्व started new branches.

15. हर्यश्व 14. प्रमोद

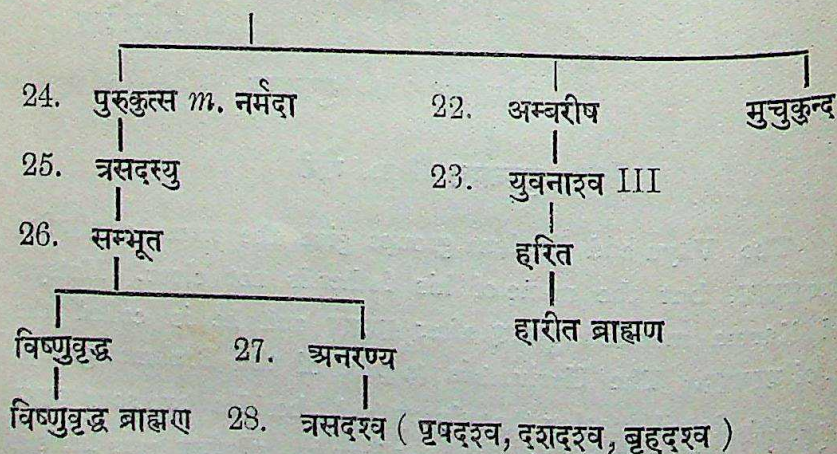
From the Agni Purāṇa-quotation (दृढाश्वात्तु हर्यश्वश्च प्रमोदकः) it appears that हर्यश्व and प्रमोद were real brothers of whom प्रमोद was younger. But in the Matsya and Kūrma versions the names of दृढाश्व, प्रमोद and हर्यश्व come one after another, i.e. they sat on the throne in this order. Other versions do not give the name of प्रमोद.

The Vāyu and Brahma groups give the name of प्रसेनजित् after कृशाश्व, but the name of his father is not clear. Matsya and Kūrma mention युवनाश्व after कृशाश्व and he is called the son of अरुणाश्व. The Harivaṁśa (a part of the Brahma group) goes into detail stating that संहताश्व had, besides two sons कृशाश्व and अरुणाश्व, also a daughter named हैमवती. प्रसेनजित् was her son and he sat on the throne after कृशाश्व, and then came युवनाश्व. The Matsya has omitted the names of unimportant kings and therefore the name of प्रसेनजित् is not there.

21. मांधाता *m.* चैत्ररथी—विंदुमती (इन्दुमती)

It is necessary to consider minutely the several lists after मांधाता, in which there is some confusion; that can be removed only by a comparative study of the material.

मांधाता had three sons— पुरुकुत्स, अम्बरीष and मुचुकुन्द. The Purāṇas give their names in this order, but it is not certain if this order was due to the exigency of metre or of their age. After giving these names there is first mention of the generation coming after अम्बरीष. His heir was युवनाश्व II. His successor was हरित whose descendants became the हारीत-क्षत्रब्राह्मण. Thereafter the Purāṇas mention पुरुकुत्स; from his queen नर्मदा was born संभूत, his heir. संभूत had two sons-- विष्णुवृद्ध and अनरण्य. विष्णुवृद्ध also became a क्षत्रब्राह्मण. From him were descended the विष्णुवृद्ध ब्राह्मणs. अनरण्य became a king. His son was त्रसदस्यु.

The purport of this is that after मांधाता, अम्बरीष became the king. His successor was युवनाश्व. His son became a Brāhmṇa. Therefore, the royal power descended to his uncle पुरुकुत्स (brother of अम्बरीष). The line of kings after मांधाता may then be fixed as follows :—

Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa and Vishṇu-dharma have mixed up संभूत and अनरण्य as one person, but this cannot be accepted as is evident by विष्णुवृद्ध coming between the two.

29. हर्यश्व *m.* दृषद्वती

After him only Vishṇu gives the name of हस्त as king, but the name not being found elsewhere and Vishṇu also not giving any detail about him, we have not included him in this list.

30. वसुमना (वसुमान्, सुमन, अरुण, सुमति, सुधन्वा)

31. त्रिधन्वा

32. त्रय्यारुण

33. सत्यव्रत = त्रिशंकु *m.* सत्यरथा (सत्यरता, सत्यव्रता, सत्यधना)

The Matsya group gives after सत्यव्रत the name of king सत्यरथ, but really this is a mislection of सत्यरथा who was his queen from the Kekaya country. The Brahma group clarifies this confusion.

34. हरिश्चन्द्र *m.* शैव्या

35. रोहित (रोहिताश्व)

36. हरित

37. चंचु (चंप, धुन्धु)

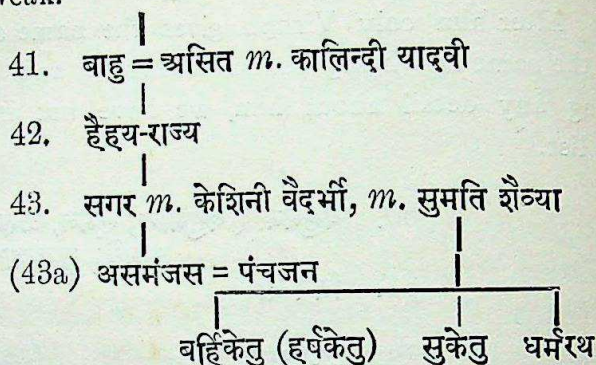
38. विजय

The Bhāgavata gives the name of सुदेव before विजय, its order being चम्प, सुदेव, विजय. The names of both सुदेव and विजय may be due to the fact that both brothers might have ruled. But it does not seem proper to count both as rulers on the authority of the Bhāgavata alone. It would be correct to take both as founders of branches (वंशधर).

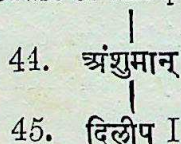
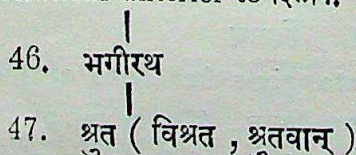
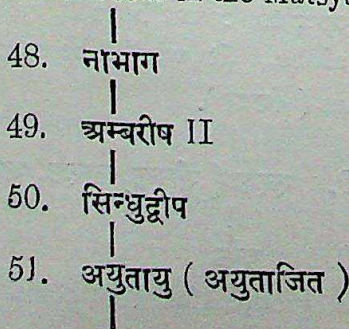
39. रुरुक (भीरुक, कारुक, अलर्क)

40. वृक

In the Matsya group after रोहित comes at once the name

of वृक which shows that the intervening kings from 36 to 39 were short-lived and weak.

The Purāṇas differ about the names of सगर's queens and their sons. असमंजस was removed from his right to inherit, since he proved to be a tyrant even while a prince, but his name comes in the list because of this political event.

44. अंशुमान्

45. दिलीप I

The Brahma group calls him खट्वाङ्ग which cannot be accepted, because all other groups mention खट्वाङ्ग as the name of दिलीप II in order to distinguish him from दिलीप I. Moreover, in the Shodaśarājika list of the Mahābhārata, the patronymic of दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग is ऐडविडि. This can be true only of दिलीप II, since इडविड was three generations anterior to दिलीप.

52. ऋतुपर्ण
|
53. सर्वकाम
|
54. सुदास = इन्द्रसाख (हंसमुख)
|
55: मित्रसह = कल्माषपाद *m*. मदयन्ती (दमयन्ती)

After कल्माषपाद in the case of six or seven kings, the list of Vāyu-Kūrma group is totally different from the Brahma-Matsya group. The reason of this difference has been explained above.

Brahma-Matsya versions

|
56. सर्वकर्मा
|
57. अनरण्य
|
58. निघ्न
|
59. अनमित्र
|
60. रघु I

According to both Brahma and Matsya groups अनमित्र and रघु I were the sons of निघ्न who became kings one after the other, as indicated in the Brahma-version.

|
61. दुलिदुह

According to the Brahma-group रघु was followed by दुलिदुह as king who was the son of अनमित्र. The Matsya group does not give this name, but after रघु this list is confused as shown later. Therefore, the name of दुलिदुह should be given here.

Vāyu-Kūrma versions

|
अश्मक
|
उरकाम

The Purāṇic statement about उरकाम is due to mislection, e.g.

(1) अश्मकस्योत्तरायां तु
मूलकस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् (Vāyu)

(2) अश्मकस्यौरसो यस्तु
मूलकस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् (Brahmāṇḍa)

(3) अश्मकस्योत्कलायां तु
मूलकस्तु सुतोऽभवत् (Kūrma)

(4) अश्मकस्योत्तरायां तु
मूलकस्तु सुतोऽभवत्। (Liṅga)

A little attention makes it evident that the reading of Vāyu alone is authentic.

Probably दुलिदुह of the Vāyu-Kūrma group is the corrupt form of विश्वसह. Such corrupt forms crept into the text of the Purāṇas when their historical nature became subordinate to the religious purpose. In this very list त्रसदस्यु became दुस्सल and इन्द्रसख became हंसमुख. Similarly गौरी, wife of युवनाश्व, is said to be *atyantadhārmikā* in Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, which in fact was a corrupt reading for *Atīnārātmajā* (daughter of अतीनार). In two mss. of Vāyu this correct form has been found, and it is also supported from other sources. Thus it was quite possible for विश्वसह to be changed to दुलिदुह or मुण्डि-द्रुह. This probability receives support from the fact that the Brahma mentions दिलीप as the son of दुलिदुह, but according to the Vāyu-Kūrma group as that of विश्वसह.

|
मूलक
|
शतरथ (दशरथ)
|
इडविड
|
वृद्धशर्मा
|
विश्वसह (विश्वमहत्)
m. यशोदा पितृकन्या
|
दिलीप-खट्वाङ्ग

Of these two branches the principal was that of सर्वकर्मा who was the eldest own son of कल्माषपाद; whereas अश्मक was his youngest and *kshetraja* son. After दुलिदुह the place of the main branch was probably taken by the branch of अश्मक, because in the Mahābhārata दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग who was the successor of दुलिदुह is called a descendant of इडविड who was of the अश्मक branch. It means that according to the family list he was descended form इडविड, but according to the royal dynastic list he was the successor of विश्वसह ।

62. दिलीप = खट्वाङ्ग *m.* सुदक्षिणा मागधी

He was called खट्वाङ्ग in order to distinguish him from दिलीप I (No. 45)

|

63. रघु = दीर्घबाहु

He was called दीर्घबाहु in order to distinguish him from रघु I (No. 60)

The Vāyu and Kūrma groups insert the name of दीर्घबाहु between दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग and रघु, but this was an epithet of रघु, as clearly stated in the Brahma version. Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa also mentions रघु as the son of दिलीप

|

64. अज *m.* इन्दुमती वैदर्भी

According to the Matsya version the names from दिलीप to अज are as follows :—

दिलीप, अज (अजक), दीर्घबाहु, आजपाल (प्रजापाल, अजापाल), but this is unsupported by any other version and the Raghuvaṁśa and hence unacceptable.

65. दशरथ *m.* कौशल्या, *m.* सुमित्रा *m.* कैकेयी

66. राम *m.* सीता लक्ष्मण *m.* उर्मिला भरत *m.* माण्डवी

67. कुश *m.* कुमुद्वती लव शत्रुघ्न *m.* श्रुतकीर्त्ति

It has been mentioned above that after कुश in the ninth generation came अहीनगु. From अहीनगु to the Bhārata War there are two versions of the Ikshvāku list. Of these the list. of the Vāyu and Brahma versions is the original Kuśa genealogy which is the same as in the Raghuvaṁśa. Hence we have also accepted it. The other list is too short and makes the interval between Rāma and the Bhārata War rather much too brief. Kālidāsa gives the names of kings from कुश to अग्निवर्ण (*infra* No. 91). Of these names only three are different from the list of Vāyu and Brahma versions about which our explanation is as follows :—

(1) In the Vāyu group the Vishṇu mentions the name of रुरु after अहीनगु. In the Brahma group the name of सुधन्वा comes at the same place. Both रुरु and सुधन्वा do not occur in the Raghuvaṁśa, but this name has been accepted by us, as it occurs in the two Purānic versions. Since the version of Brahma is comparatively more authentic than that of Vāyu-Vishṇu, we have preferred the name सुधन्वा. It appears that he was an unimportant ruler hence his name is omitted in the Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa versions and in Kālidāsa.

(2) Probally due to his being an unimportant king, the name of दल has been omitted by Kālidāsa after that of शिल (= शल of the Mahābhārata, and दल of Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa ; the name does not occur in Brahma). The name of दल is found in Vāyu and Brahma versions (Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa give it as बल, Vishṇu as वच्चल, Bhāgavata as बलस्थल, and Brahma as अनल) The Mahābhārata gives his legend which shows that he was the younger brother of शिव and succeeded him as king. Therefore the name of दल after शल or शिल cannot be left out in the list,

(3) In the Purānic genealogy हिरण्यनाभ कौशल्य-वसिष्ठ (or वरिष्ठ) seems to be one name, but Kālidāsa mentions हिरण्यनाभ, कौशल्य and वलिष्ठ as names of three kings in order. Here Kālidāsa seems to be right and the Purāṇic list seems to be mistaken, because in the Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (16.9 11.,13) the epithet Kauśalya is given not to हिरण्यनाभ but to one called हैरण्यनाभ. This shows that हिरण्यनाभ and कौशल्य were different persons and कौशल्य was the descendant of हिरण्यनाभ, his own name being पर (Para) according to the Vedic sources. This also indicates that वलिष्ठ was an independent person. We give below the names upto अग्निवर्ण as found in the Raghuvaṁśa, the chief Purāṇic variants being given within brackets. In the Matsya version the line of future kings starts not from श्रुतायु but from वृहद्बल which shows the importance of this list.

68. अतिथि

69. निषध

70. नल

71. नभ

72. (पुण्डरीकाक्ष)

73. क्षेमधन्वा

74. देवानीक

75. अहीनगु *

76. सुधन्वा (रुरु)

77. पारिपात्र (पारियात्र)

78. शिल (शल, दल, देवल)

79. दल (बल, वच्चल, बलस्थल, अनल)

80. उन्नाभ (औंक, उलूक, उत्क, उक्थ)

81. वज्रणाभ (व्रजनाभ)

82. शङ्खन

83. व्युषिताश्व (ध्युषिताश्व, युषिताश्व)

84. विश्वसह (विधृति)

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*. After this the list of the **Matsya-Kūrma** version becomes different of which the best form, according to the Matsya is as follows :—

सहस्राक्ष, चंद्रावलोक, तारापीड, चन्द्रगिरि, भानुचन्द्र, श्रुतायु।
These names do not differ in any of the lists. In the **Liṅga** alone श्रुतायु is equated with बृहद्बल e.g. :—

श्रुतायुरभवत्तस्माद् बृहद्बल इति श्रुतः।
...........भारते यो निपातितः॥

85. हिरण्यनाभ (कौसल्य)
|
86. पर कौसल्य (हैरण्यनाभ कौसल्य)
|
87. ब्रह्मनिष्ठ (वसिष्ठ, वरिष्ठ)
|
88. पुष्य (पुष्प)
|
89. ध्रुवसंधि (अर्थसिद्धि)
|
90. सुदर्शन
|
91. अग्निवर्ण
|
92. शीघ्र (शीघ्रग)
|
93. मरु (मनु)
|
94. प्रसुश्रुत
|
95. सुसंधि
|
96. अमर्षण (अमर्ष)

This name occurs only in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata
|
97. सहस्वान् (महस्वान्)
|
98. विश्रुतवान् (विश्वभव, विश्वसाह्व)

The Bhāgavata gives here the names of प्रसेनजित् and तक्षक which being unsopported from other sources are left out.

99. बृहद्बल
|
This बृहद्बल was killed in the Bhārata war. After him begins the third sector of the Ikshvāku genealogy known as the line of the Future Ikshvāku Kings (भविष्य ऐक्ष्वाक वंशावली).

THE VISHṆUDHARMOTTARA CHAPTERS ON MUSIC: A CRITICAL STUDY

By

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[विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य तृतीयखण्डस्य अष्टादशाध्याये गीतलक्षणम्, एकोनविंशतितमेऽध्याये आतोद्यविधिश्च वर्ण्यते । अस्मिन् लेखे उभयोः विमर्शः कृतः, गीतस्य स्थान-ग्राम-स्वर-मूर्छना-तान-लयादीनां च विषये विचारः क्रियते । हास्यादि नवरसानां मध्ये केषु रसेषु के स्वरा प्रयुज्यन्ते इत्यप्यालोचितम् । आतोद्यस्य तत-सुषिर-घन-अवनद्धेति चत्वारः प्रकाराः, तिस्रो वृत्तयः, द्विविधं प्रकरणं चेत्यादयो विषयाः वर्णिताः । अन्ते च गायकानां निवेशनविधिरपि निर्दिष्टः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवर्णनस्य पाठानां च नारदशिक्षा-बृहद्देशी-नाट्यशास्त्र-वायुपुराण-संगीतरत्नाकरादिग्रन्थानां वर्णनैः पाठैश्च तुलनाप्यत्र बहुशः कृता । पारिभाषिकशब्दानां व्याख्या अस्याध्ययनस्य विशिष्टो गुणः ।]

With the Hindus music (saṅgītam) has all along been considered as a means of spiritual realisation. Hence, music is sacred.

The traditional belief of the Hindus is that god Śiva was the originator of the threefold science of music; and his mystic dance symbolises the rhythmic motion of the universe. It may be pointed out here that though lord Śiva is associated with music, nowhere in the Vedic texts do we find him clearly connected with music and dance. In the Rāmāyaṇa, however, there is an indirect hint as to the relation between Śiva and music (VII. 16. 35). The Vāyupurāṇa, where various theories as regards the origin of music remain undiscussed (a characteristic feature of the later mythological texts), shows lord Śiva very often associated with music (II. 24-25). It is interesting to note that the Vishṇudharmottara ascribes the origin of music to Vishṇu (III. 34. 26 ff.).

Music in India is as old as the Vedas. The hymns of the Ṛik and Sāma-Vedas are examples we have of

words set to music. These hymns were closely associated with the rituals performed in ancient times. The Vedas, Epics (specially the Rāmāyana) Khila Harivaṁśa and Purāṇas throw welcome light on the close association of music with the sacrifices. Names of most of the tānas, mentioned in the earlier texts like the Nāradīya Śikshā (Sāmavedīya) and also in Vāyu and Vishṇudharmottara, have been given after those of the various sacrifices.

A considerable progress in the realm of music may be noticed in the references to music in the Rāmāyaṇa (c. 500 B.C.). The Mahābhārata (c. 450 B. C.) ; and the Pāli texts also refer to music (c. 300 B. C.).

Among important landmarks of music must also be counted some chapters of certain Purāṇas (and Upapurāṇas), particularly the Mārkaṇḍeya (c. 2nd century A. D.), Vāyu (c. 3rd century A. D.), Vishṇudharmottara (c. 5th century A. D.). The Hindus claim a great antiquity for these Purāṇas, and this seems to be corroborated by the technical terms used in them with reference to music. These texts are, however, full of copyists' errors in technical passages (treating of the Śilpaśāstra, Vāstuvidyā, Saṅgīta and Nṛitya).

The Vāyupurāṇa devotes two chapters (chs. 86-87 of Anandashrama edn.) which deal exclusively with music – specially with its theoretical side. As this Purāṇa does not mention either Bharata or his Nāṭyaśāstra, we have every reason to believe that the materials of the said chapters, have been taken from some other texts earlier than it. Names of 'tānas' as found in it are different from those mentioned in some extant works on music. For these reasons Dikshitar opines that "the Vāyu contents are certainly older than any regular treatise on the science of music" (cf. Some aspects of the Vāyu-Purāṇa, pp. 34-37). Some of the technical terms of music as well as the names of the musical instruments can be found in earlier texts like the Vedas, Jātakas, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

The oldest detailed exposition of the theory of Indian music has been given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is said to have been composed by the sage Bharata (there is a great doubt as to the authorship of the Nāṭyaśāstra by a single man). There is only one chapter in it (chap. 28, K. M. Edn.) which deals with music proper i.e. gīta. This chapter gives a detailed exposition of the 'svaras', 'śrutis', 'grāmas', 'mūrchhanās', 'jātiś', etc. The principles of this theory are still current in Indian music.

The *Nāradīya Śiksha* (c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.) has dealt with some technical terms of music like 'sthāna', 'svara', 'grāma', 'tāna', 'mūrchhanā' etc.

Another important treatise on music is the *Brihaddeśī* of Mataṅga, which according to Mr. O. C. Gangoly, stands between the Nāṭyaśāstra and Saṅgīta Makaranda of Nārada, i. e. sometime between the 4th and 7th century A. D. (cf. *Rāgas and Rāginis*, pp. 16-17). Mataṅga has given a detailed description of the 'śrutis', 'jātis', 'śvaras', 'grāmas', 'aṁśas', 'varṇas', 'alaṅkāras' and 'gītis'. He has referred to three varieties of songs viz., ārchika', 'gāthika' and 'sāmika'. Following Bharata, he has also taken into account only two grāmas, viz., 'śhaḍja', and 'madhyaṁa'. He has named the 'tānas' after the sacrifices like 'Agniṣṭoma' etc.

Now, let us come to the subject of our special study, viz., chapters on music in the *Vishṇudharmottara* (a work of c. 400-500 A. D.). The Vishṇudharmottara throws considerable light on the science of music, and treats of music (both vocal and instrumental), dancing & dramaturgy (cf. chs 18-34, Book III). Names of the topics described in these chapters may be given below :—

1. Vocal mnsic—chapter 18 ; 2. Instrumental music—chapter 19 ; 3. Definitions of 'Nāṭya', 'Nṛitya' etc—chapters 20-29 ; 4. 'Rasas'—chapter 30 ; 5. 49 'Bhāvas' and 'Rasas' —chapter 31 ; 6. Names and descriptions of various 'Mudrās' —chapters 32-33 ; and 7. Story of the origin of dancing from Vishṇu, and praise of worshipping deities with dance,—chapter 34.

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In the opinion of Dr. M. Ghosh the Vishṇudharmottara* chapters on 'Nṛittya', 'Nāṭya' and 'Abhinaya' are dependent on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bhārata, and do not appear to be earlier than the 8th century A. D. (cf. English translation of the Nāṭya Śāstra—Vol. I. p. LXVII—by Dr. M. Ghosh). Dr. R. C. Hazra, too, thinks that the aforesaid chapters are based upon the Nāṭyaśāstra. He has tentatively placed the date of the former work, Vshiṇudharmottara, sometime between A. D. 400—500.† In his opinion most of the verses of this work may date back to an early period though there are some which might have been incorporated into the body of the text afterwards. But, he has not raised any doubt as to the genuineness of these chapters—inspite of his remark that they were based upon the Nāṭyaśāstra (cf. *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*—Vol. I, pp. 200, 212-16—by Dr. R. C. Hazra). It may be pointed out here that divergent views exist as regards the exact date of the composition of the Nāṭya-śāstra. Modern researches have proved that the date of this work (i. e. Nāṭya Śāstra) cannot go beyond 3rd or 4th century A. D. (cf. *Hist. of Sonskrit Poetics* —Vol. I, p. 23 ff.—by Dr. S. K. De ; *The Sāhityadarpaṇa Introduction*, pp. 22 and 45 by Dr. P. V. Kane ; and Dr. M. Ghosh, op. cit. p., LXXXVLa—200 A. D.)

The reasons advocated as to the early date of the Nāṭya-śāstra (op. cit.) may also hold good in the case of (chapters 18-19 of) the Vishṇudharmottara, and many other works of ancient times. The latter work does not refer to Bharata (so far as the above chapters are concerned) as its source, though some scholars

* Vishṇudharmottara. We have followed the Venkatesvara press edition (Ven. Pr. Edn). Bombay.

† It may be pointed out here that Dr. Priya Bala Shah thinks that the Bk. III of the text—if not the whole of it—can be placed between c. 450-650 A.D. Inspite of this she has not ruled out the possibility of anearlier date of the same (Vishṇdh., Bk. III. G. O. S., no. CXXX, vol. I, 1958, pp. xxii-xxviii). In the opinion of Dr. Stella Kramrisch chapters of the same belong to the 7th century A. D.—as they seem to be contemporaneous with the latest painting of Ajanta (Viṣṇdh., Eng. Tr., 1924, p. 5). But we are inclined to place Book III of this Purāṇa before the Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira i. e. the 1st half of the 6th century A. D.

have tried to show the indebtedness of the Vishṇudharmottara-kāra to Bharata. There may be some similarity of ideas and expressions between these two works. Thus, like the Vāyupurāṇa chapters on music (II. 24-25) we may reasonably credit chapters 18-19 of the Vishṇudharmottara (Book III) as materials of a work earlier than the Nāṭyaśāstra. Description of 3 'grāmas' such as 'shaḍja', 'madhyama' and 'gāndhāra' (the last one has not been dealt with by Bhārata), 15 'gāndhāra-grāmikās, and naming of 49 tānas after various Vedic sacrifices (which, though not found in the work of Bharata, are described in some detail in works like Nāradīya Śikshā of circa 2nd-3rd century A. D., Vāyupurāṇa (Ven. Pr. edn.) circa 3rd eentury A.D. and followed by some later works amongst which mention should be made of the Bṛihaddeśī of Mataṅga (composed between 4th-7th century A. D.) etc., prove beyond doubt that the aforesaid Vishṇudharmottara chapters may be dated in the 5th century A. D., and not later.

A detailed discussion of the Viṣṇudharmottara chapters on music will convince any one about the truth or otherwise of the statement made above. It may be observed here that this work depends upon the Vedic, epic as well as other ancient texts in general, and the Nāradiya Śikshā and the Vāyupurāṇa (it may be observed here that, by its description of a Purāṇa as consisting of 4 Pādas, the Vishṇudharmottara definitely points to the Vāyupurāṇa—see *Viṣṇdhm.* 'III. V.' 26) in particular, for its treatment of the chapters—(specially on music—including instrumental one). We shall presently show cogent proofs for the same.

Gleanings from the Vishṇudharmottara chapters on music-vocal as well as instrumental (Book III, chapters 18-19). are being made in the following paragraphs. (The text is sometimes very corrupt).

Chap. 18—Gītalakṣaṇam (Vocal music)

(i) 'Trīṇi Sthānāni—ūraḥ-kaṇṭhaḥ-śirascha

In order to call a person standing at a distance the voice

should proceed from the head-register (śiras) ; and when he is at a shorter distance it should be from the chest (uras) ; and for calling a person at one's side the voice should come from the throat-register (kaṇṭha). These voice-registers (sthānāni) have the following pitches (sthāyīs), viz., mandra (low), madhya (medium) and tāra (high or loud) (cf. Nār. Śik., I. 1. 7-8 ; Vāyu p. II. 25.4 ; N.S. 14. 48 54, 56 & 19. 11. preceeding vs. 99 and 101 ; and Bṛihhaddeśi, p. 211).

(ii) 'Trayo grāmāḥ— Shaḍja-madhyama-gāndhārāḥ' :— A combination of svaras (notes) is called grāma (English eqv. for it may be a scale or mode). Our music is traditionally based on the three 'grāmas' named, 'shaḍja (it means born of six and indicates that this note–which has now become the tonic—was the last to arise in a downward series), 'madhyama' (it means middle, and suggests that at an earlier period it was the central note of the scales), and gāndhāra (it was the starting point of the gāndhāra scale). According to the Nāradīya Śikshā (1.1.6-7), Vāyupurāṇa (II 24. 36) and Bṛihaddeśī (p. 21), there are three grāmas'. but while the first two (Shaḍja and madhyama) are found on earth, the last (gāndhāra) one is reserved for heaven. The Bṛihaddeśī gives stress upon the first two 'grāmas' (*Ibid*). As the Nāṭyaśāstra makes express mention of only the first two grāmas (28. 23, 28 ff, 35, 36 etc.), we may reasonably infer that the 'gāndhāra grāma' perhaps became obsolete at the time of the composition of the said treatise. 'Shaḍja' is the basic note from which the six other notes are described. It is also the best of all grāmas. The 'śruti-distribution' (22 according to the N. S.) among the svaras in the three 'grāmas' differs slightly, and Bharata has described the method by which the different śrutis may be formed.

(iii) 'Saptasvarāḥ – Shaḍja-ṛishabha-gāndhāra-madhyama-pañchama-nishāda-dhaivatāḥ' (seven 'svaras' of which the initials are sa. ri, ga, ma, pa, ni, and dha) : — The Nāradiya Śikshā (1. 2. 4-6), - Vāyupuraṇa (11. 24. 35. - 37), Nāṭyaśāstra (28.21) and Brihaddeśi (p. 21) also refer to these 7 'svaras', but all

of them make 'nishāda' last. This order is violated by the author of the Vishṇudh, for it makes 'dhaivata' the last. But the C. M. S. of the same (consulted by Dr. P. Shah – henceforth P. S. – along with other MSS., viz. A, B & F – see her Introduction to the Vishṇudh., III) gives the usual order. We know that 'svara' can be measured and a study of this (measurement) incorporates – 'sthāna', 'grāma', 'śruti', 'mūrchhanā', 'tāna', 'vṛitti', 'jāti', 'varṇa', 'tāla' and 'prabandha.

(iv) 'Ekaviṁśatir mūrchhanāḥ–sapta sapta pratigrāmāśritāḥ Tadyathāsāṁ nāmāni' :—

(a) Sauvīrī – hāriṇāśvā (syā in Vāyu. P.; - °śvā in N. S.)– kalopanatā (° valopeta in V.P.; V.P. stands for Vāyupurāṇa, and we have followed the Venkateśvara press edition of the same)— śuddhamadhyamā – mārgi (mārgavī in N.S.) – pauravī – ṛishyakā (it should be hṛishyakā) cheti // Etāḥ sapta madhyamagrāmiṇyaḥ uttara saṅgā / (A. & B. MSS. give the reading as uttaramandārijani, while C. MS. uttarasañchārijanī ; P. S. emends the reading as uttaramandrā – rajanī). (b) Pranchinī (A, B & C MSS. omit it) – uttarāyatā - śuddhashaḍjā - matsarīkṛitā - aśvakrāntā - udgatā (abhir°in N.S.; uddhatā in some MSS) cha // etāḥ sapta shaḍjagrāmikāḥ ; (c) Ālāpī (according to A B & C MSS. āpolī & S.R. ālāpā; P. S. prefers the latter reading) – kuntimā -- śraddhā (śuddhā according to P. S.) – uttarā – shaḍja – pañcāyatā – udgatā (A & B. MSS. read uddhatā – which P. S. corrects as udgatā ; Ven. Pr. edn. drops it) etāḥ sapta gāndhāragrāmikāḥ / (21 'mūrchhaṇās' – 7 in each 'grāma', viz. 'madhyama' 7, 'shaḍja' 7 and 'gāndhāra' 7 ; according to N. S. & Bṛihaddesī only 14).

The three 'grāmas' give rise to 21 'mūrchhanās'. The ascent (ārohī) and descent (avarohī) taken in regular order – beginning and ending with the particular note of the voice – register – is called 'mūrchhanā'. 7 mūrchhanas are possible from any set of 7 notes. Names of the 7 'mūrchhanas' in the 'gāndhāra grāma' (only to be found in S. R., a later work) are not to be found in the N. S. It may be pointed out here that the 7 'mūrchhanās of the 'gāndhāra grāma' as given in the

Nāradīya Śikshā (Nandi etc., 1.2.9) are termed as 'deva-mūrchhanās'. Do they stand for the 'mūrchhanās' of the 'gāndhāra grāma'? If so, they differ from those given in the Vishṇudh. (for the 'mūrchhanās' of the 'gāndhāra grāma', see S. R. i. e. Sangīta Ratnākara, 1. 4. 25-26.). As to the reason of calling the 'mūrchhanās of this 'grāma', as 'uttarā' (cf. Vishṇudh.), see II. 49-51, 57 of the Vāyup. The 'mūrchhanās' of the other two 'grāmas' are more or less the same as given in the Nār. Śik— I. 2. 10 ff, Vāyup. - II. 24.38 ff, N.S. - 28.29 ff and Bṛihaddeśī-p. 22 ff.

(v) 'Ekonapañchāśat tānāḥ' :— (a) Madhyamagrāmikāḥ (20) - Agnishṭomika, atyagnishṭomika, (A, B & C. MSS. drop it), vājapeyika (according to C. MS. only. Ven. pr. edn. omits it, see also V. P. and Bṛihdd), pauṇḍarīka (pauṇḍraka in V. P.), āśvamedhika, rājasūyika, bāhusuvarṇika (chakra, in V. P.), gosavika, mahāvratika (vṛishṭika, V. P.), Brahmatāna (Brahmadāna in V. P.), Prājāpatya, nāgāśraya (paksha, V. P.; sarpa in Bṛihaddeśī), yajñāśraya, godānika (godohana in Bṛihaddeśī), hayakrānta, ajakrānta (mṛiga in V.P.), Vishṇukrānta, araṇya (vareṇya in V. P.), mattakokila and ujjīvika (udbhida-yāga in Bṛihaddeśī) ;

(b) Shaḍjagrāmika (14) :- Prasvāpana, paiśācha, (Sāgara), jīvana, sāvitra, ardhasāvitra (sāvitrī and ādya-sāvitrī in Brihaddeśī), sarvatobhadra (name of a maṇḍala in Vāstuvidyā), suvarṇa, Vishṇu (vaishṇu in V. P.), jishṇu, Viṣhṇunara, śārada in V. P.), vjjaya haṁsa, jyeshṭha ;

(c) Gāndhāragrāmika (15):-Tumburupriya, mahālakṣmaṇa, gāndharvānumata, Alambushapriya (sheshṭa in V. P.), Nārada-priya, Bhīmasenapriya, vitāna (vinatā in V. P.), Mataṅga, Bhārgavapriya, abhirāma, saṁśrāvya, kinnarapriya, puṇya, manohara and kalyāṇakara.

So, there are altogether 49 'tānas' in the three 'grāmas'. Names of these 'tānas' in the first two groups, i.e. (a) and (b) are clearly given after the Vedic sacrificial names, and those

of the last group, i.e., (c) are after some celestial musicians and recognised heroes. Most of these names can be found in the Vāyupurāṇa (II. 24. 41-49) and Bṛihaddeśī (p. 26 ff.–names of various new tānas, given after sacrifices etc., can also be found in it). The Vāyupurāṇa does not complete the list of names of the 49 'tānas', for it gives only 42 names. Some of the 'tāna–names', given in it, differ from the Vishṇudharmottara on the one hand and Bṛihaddeśī on the other. These names are not found in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

From a study of the names of the above 'tānas', we may reasonably opine that the sources of the Vishṇudharmottara were possibly the Vāyupurāṇa and other earlier texts including the Vedic and epic ones. It may be pointed out here that the 'tānas' are included in the 'mūrchhanās'. Difference between the two is that while the latter includes all the seven notes, the former only one or two except madhyama in all 'grāmas' 'dhaivata' in the 'shaḍja grāma and 'pañchama' in 'madhyama grāma'. The use of 'tānas' is said to be undistinguishing between the 'jātis', 'rāgas' etc. in both 'grāmas'. The modern use of the term 'tāna' is not very old; and 'mūrchhanā' in its original sense seems to have disappeared from the later Indian music.

(vi) ('Gāndharvam–) Etachchaturvidhaṁ svarapadalayāvadhānayogāt' (svara-pada-laya and avadhāna make up tānas) :— It may be pointed out here that save and except Dattilam and Vishṇudharmottara no one has used the term 'avadhāna', which is the very soul of music (for a keen brain, sense of hearing, the vocal cords all join to effect concentration). The Vishṇudharmottara line may be compared with that of Dattilam. Laya of the former stands for 'tāla' used in the latter (according to the latter gāndharva consists of 'svara', i. e. notes; 'tāla' i. e. time-measures; and 'pada' i. e. verbal themes). It seems that 'gāndharva' is a combination of vocal (gīti) as well as instrumental (ātodyā), music (NS. 28.8.) The Vishṇudharmottara itself says in chapter 19 that 'tāla' includes 'laya' (layavattāla). The 'ṭāla' or ṭime measure, bestows equanimity. Topics under

'tāla' are 'kālā', 'pāta', 'pada', 'bhāga', 'mātrā', 'parivarta', 'vastu', 'vidārī', 'aṅga', 'laya', 'yati', 'pāṇi', 'prakaraṇa', 'kriyā', 'vajra', 'gīti' and 'mārga', 'Laya' means the interval of time occupied by the 'aṅgas' in an 'āvarta. It may be of 3 kinds viz. druta (quick), madhya (medium) and vilambita (slow). Among these the medium tempo determines the normal kalā i.e. unit-time (cf. N.S., ch. 31, vs. 4–10, 486–8).

(vi-a) Vādī-saṁvādī-antyavādī (anuvādī, acc. to N. S.):— Svaras, are divided into 4 kinds according to the number of 'śrutis' between them; and they are as follows :—vādī (sonant), saṁvādī (consonant), antyavādī (assonant, anuvādī according to N. S.) and vivādī (dissonant) (cf. Nāṭya Śāstra, 28. 22–4 and prose pages 303–4). Each note is vādī, or 'śaṁvādi' or 'anuvādī', or 'vivādī to others. The Vishhṇudharmottara mentions three such 'svaras' and terms virāma as 'vṛitti'. But, it is interesting to note that same text variantly calls chitrā, 'vṛitti.' (vārttika ?) and 'dakshiṇā' as three 'vṛittis' in the next ch., i.e. 19. Are these meant for instrumental music only ? However, on the authority of the Bṛihaddeśī (p. 14) and Saṅgīta Makaranda (2–7) we may observe that 'vādī' is the predominent expression of the 'rāga'; 'saṁvādī' reinforces the 'vādī', 'anuvādīs are the notes of a 'rāga' excluding the other two; and 'vivādīs are their discordant position. The 'vādī' (or sonant) determines the emotional appeal of the 'mūrchhanā'. Each cycle of the mūrchhanā', consisting of an ascent and descent through the seven notes creates a fresh set of 'vādi' and 'saṁvādi'. This is conducive to creating new melodies.

(vii) Then the Vishṇudharmottara refers to the 'nava rasas' (sentiments), viz. 'hāsya', śṛiṅgāra, 'vīra', 'raudra', 'adbhuta', 'karuṇa' bībhatsa', 'bhayānaka', and śānta, and says that of the seven 'svaras' grouped into 5 – 'madhyama' and 'pañchama', 'shaḍja' and 'pañchama' (according to N. S. ṛishabha and pañchama), 'nishāda' and 'gāndhāra'; 'dhaivata', and then 'madhyama' – the first group applies to 'hāsya' and 'śṛiṅgāra'; second to 'vīra'; 'raudra' and 'adhbhuta'; third to 'karuṇa'; fourth to 'bibhatsa' and 'bhayānaka' and the fifth to 'śānta'. Of the

three 'layas' the 'madhyama' will suit 'hāsya' and 'śṛingāra'; – 'vilambita' 'bībhatsa' and 'bhyānaka'; and 'druta' – 'vīra', raudra and 'adbhuta' rasas (cf. N. S. – 17. 99 ; 19. 11 after v. 102 ; 29 1-4 and 11. following v. 118).

(viii) 'Chokshā-prayoga' stands for 'śuddha (pure) – jāti 'in contradistinction to 'vikṛita' (modified) 'svaras' (meant for 'surārādhana' only ?).

(viii-a) Jātayaḥ daśalaksaṇāḥ (i. e. the 10 characteristics of the jātis ; for a detailed study please see N. S. 28. 37-39, 56-62 and 74-100) :— 'Mūrchhanā-krama' has a note of inception, on which it ends also. That note is mostly called 'vādī or 'aṁśa'. If the latter is slightly shifted, then another 'melody-mould' is created from the 1st. These 'melody-moulds' are called 'jāti'. They are primitive melodies from which the 'rāgas' of later Hindu music developed. They are eighteen in number. The 10 distinguishing characteristics of the 'jātis' are as follows : —'Graha', 'aṁśa', 'tāra', 'mandra', 'nyāsa', 'apanyāsa', 'alpatva', 'bahutva', 'shāḍava' and 'oḍavita' (auḍavita in N. S.). The 'graha' is the note in which the song begins. It is an alternative term for the 'aṁśa'. The 'aṁśa' is like the key-note of the western music. It is always five notes above the 'graha' (for a distinction between 'aṁśa' and 'graha' please see Saṅgīta Ratnākara, I. 7. 29. 34 and 32-34). It is related to 'graha', 'apanyāsa', nyāsa and other notes and lies scattered throughout the song. The tāra and mandra denotes loud and low pitched notes. The nyāsa and apanyāsa are the respective names of the concluding and intermediate note of the melody mould. Alpatva and bahutva (i. e. reduction and amplification) denote whether the note is used often or once in a while (i. e. whether it is due to a slip or non-repetition ; or imperfect pronunciation or oft-repetition. The 'shāḍava' and 'auḍavita', denote the hexatonic or pentatonic treatment of notes. On rare occasions they may also interchange with each other.

(ix) 'Alaṁkārāśchatvāro' (4 'alaṁkāras'):— The 'alaṁkāras' are ornamental graces appended to the 'varṇas' (melodic

curves). Without these 'alaṁkāras' a song remains merely a chant. It should be pointed out here that Vishṇudharmottara mentions only two 'varṇas' in the next chapter in connection with the description of the instrumental music. The Vāyupurāṇa, Nāṭyaśāstra, Bṛihaddeśī and other later texts refer to four 'varṇas'. The Vishṇudharmottara mentions four 'alaṁkāras' (the number rises to 30 in the N. S. and other later texts, N. S. 29. 23. 35). Such as 'prasannādi', 'prasannādyanta', 'prasannānta' and 'prasannamadhya' (which are more or less sthāyī varṇas). The Vāyupurāṇa verse give us the names of the following four 'alaṁkāraś – sthāpani, kramarejina, pramāda and apramāda (II. 25. 9). The above purāṇa also says that the four requisites of the said 'alaṁkāras' are as follows :— saṁsthāna, pramāṇa, vikāra and lakshaṇa (II. 25. 22).

(x) Next we come to the seven types of songs, which are very old and seem to be ignored by the authors of Indian musical treatises. The Vishhṇudharmottara gives their names as aparāntaka,† ullopya (ka in N. S.), mandraka, (madraka in N. S., 29. 36; 31. 220-21, and mandraka in Vāyupurāṇa, II. 25. 33), makarī (prakarī ? in N. S. op. cit., and 31. 315 ff.)* uveṇaka (oveṇaka ? N. S. op. cit 31. 323 ff.) sarovindu (rovindaka ? – N. S. op. cit. & 31. 338 ff.) & uttama (uttara ? – N. S. op. cit & 31. 350 ff.) (for these gītis, also see S. R., V. 58-59). It is said in verses 77-81, chap. 29 of the N. S. that the 'alaṁkāras depend upon the 'gītis'. In addition to these seven types of songs the Vishhṇudharmottora gives the names of four more ancient songs of hymn tyye, viz. Ṛik-gāthā (Ṛik hymns), Pāṇikā (an ancient song ?) Dakshavihitā (named after Dakṣa ?‡) Brahma-gītikā

** A, B & C, MSS. read 'shaḍjabhāshāyām', which has been rightly amended by p. S. as ṣaḍjarshabham.

* Strangely enough P. S. amends it as vaiṇika.

† 'Ullāpya' is the term used to denote an one-act play (uparūpaka)—full of fighting and back ground music (Sāhitva Darpaṇa, VI. 287—p. 515)

‡ It is said that Dakṣa-Prajāpati (praisad by Yājñavalkya) is the creator of the Brahmagītis (Pra IX. 106.) Ṛk-gāthā, Pāṇikā, Dakśavihitā and Brahma-gītikā (cf. Q. J. A. H. R. S., I, p, 59.

(it may be pointed out here that in vs. 369 ff. chap. 31 of the N. S., it is said that seven types of songs—uttered by Brahman—came out of the Sāma Veda ; that the songs and instrumental music performed in the worship of gods would bring limitless merit to the devotee, and that the playing of drums etc. in the 'chhedyaka tāla' should invariably be followed in the Ṛik. and Pāṇikā hymns.). The Vishṇudharmottara wishes that these four holy songs should be constantly practised (or it may be that the work wants that one of these four songs should be sung before the beginning of the seven songs already mentioned). At the end of chap. 18 of the same text it is said that if a musician does not attain the 'paramapada' (the highest step of Vishṇu ?) then surely he will rejoice with the Lord as his attendant (see the concluding verses of ch. 18, Bk. III of the Vishṇdh.)

Vishṇudh. Chap.—19 Ātodyavidhānam (Instrumental music)

(i) 'Chaturvidhamātodyam—tataṁ, sushiraṁ, ghanaṁ, avanaddhaṁ cha, tataṁ vīṇādi, śushiraṁ vaṁśādiḥ, ghanam tālādi, avanaddhaṁ murajādi :—

Musical instruments which have always been held sacred with us are of four kinds. It may be pointed out here that the Vishṇudharmottara and N. S. have taken into account the traditional or well-known instrumdents viz. 'tata' (stringed), 'avanaddha' (covered), 'ghana' (solid) and 'sushira' (hollow). Abhinavagupta and Śārangadeva have explained in detail the importance of the stringed and hollow instruments in the production of an orchestra or a drama. They have also detailed the method of playing those instruments. In the age of Rāmāyaṇa the above four classes of instruments were in use (consult the Bālakāṇḍa and Ayodhyākāṇḍa).

(Among the musical instruments) stringed stands for the instruments having strings i. e. vīṇā etc., covered means percussion i. e. drum etc., solid cymbal etc., and hollow, flute etc.

(ii) Svarāstulyāḥ śārīrā vaiṇavāśca ; tadvadvaṁśāḥ kintu yathā śārīrāṇāṁ ārohāvarohaṇe tathā vaiṇavānāṁ vaṅśānāṁ viparyayāt, tālaḥ kālaprayojyaḥ' :—The sources of the 'svara'

are human body (throat), vaiṇava (lyre) and vaṁśa (flute). 'Svaras', grāmas', 'tānas', 'śrutis' etc. are available in the (wooden) vīṇā as well as in the human throat (N. S. 28. 13-15). As the notes coming out from human throat may be of ascending or descending order, so is the case with those created by a lyre or a flute. The tāla or time measure bestows equanamity. 'Kalā; an integral part of 'tālavidhi', denotes unit-time. By extending this unit-time fresh 'kalās' are created. The 'tāla vidhi' is applicable to both human voice and lyre-cum-flute. In 'mārga' type of music mātrā is equal to 5 ordinary mātrās.

(iii) Tisro vṛittayaḥ citrā vṛittiḥ dakshiṇā ceti (acc. to P.S.; V. P. edn. drops it). In playing the stringed instruments the four 'dhātus' are considered as very important (N. S., vs. 36 chap. 29). These again are related to three vṛittis (or procedures) on which the playing of the above instruments depend. The styles of procedure (gativṛitti) are classified into three, viz. chitrā-vṛitti (variegated), vṛitti (also known as vārttika, i. e. movement) vṛitti and daksiṇāvṛitti (dexterous). These are important in vocal, orchestral and instrumental music. The first gives prominence to vocal, and the third to instrumental. In the 'chitrā' there should be two 'mātrās', in the 'vṛitti' the twice of it and in dakshiṇā' its four-fold. These are the three types of 'kalās' (N. S., vs, 102 ff. 132 ff. chap. 29 ; vs. 123 ff.—chap. 31).

(iv) The tāla has twofold sources—chañchatpuṭa and chāpapuṭa. Chañchatpuṭa (chanchatpuṭala in Vishnudharmat-tara which is certainly a corrupt form) is chaturasra and chapapuṭa (chapuṭa in Vishndh. a corrupt form) tryasra. Each of these two 'tālas' have three varieties. 'yathākshara' (literal), 'dvikala' (of two kalās) and chatushkala (of four kalās). The two 'tālas' consist of long and short syllables: 'chañchatpuṭa' will consist of two long syllables—followed by one short and the final 'pluta' syllables (yathākshara variety); and 'chāpap uṭa' of one long syllable--followed by two short and final long syllables. A combination of these two is known as 'miśra' (or mixed) 'tāla.' It includes the 'shaṭpitāputraka' ('tāputra' in Viṣndh is a corrupt form) and 'pañchapāṇi.' These are the three kinds of 'tālas.' Their

'pātakalā' (alternate placing of kalās is known as pāta) will be as follows :—'Sannipāta' 'samyā' (śampā in Vishṇudharmottara is a corrupt form), 'tāla', 'śamyā ; or 'śamyā', 'tāla', 'śamya-tāla'; or 'tāla,' 'samyā-tāla,' 'samyā'. The 'chaturasra' is known as 'yugma', and 'tryasra' as 'ayugma' (ayuk in Viṣṇudh). From the point of sound the 'tālas' can be divided into two classes, viz., niḥśabda (silent) and saśabda (audible). The silent 'tāla' has again four varieties such as, 'avāpa' (avapā ? in Vishṇdh) 'nishkrāma', 'vikshepa' and' praveśaka' ; and the 'audible' four, viz., 'samyā', tāla', 'dhruva', and 'sannipāta'. It may be pointed out in this connection that some of these technical terms are not found in the Vishṇudharmottara, but in order to explain the above passage we have taken the help of the N. S. verses (N. S. chap. 31, vs. 7 to 44).

(iv–a) 'Prakaraṇam dvividhaṁ'-kulakaṁ chhedyakaṁ cha:- These are the 'tāla-gītis' : madraka etc. They are classed under two groups, viz., 'kulaka' and 'chhedyaka'. If a piece or a part is complete by itself in meaning, it is termed as 'chhedyaka'., but if two or more pieces collectively form a meaningful whole then it will be 'kulaka (for a detailed study see the prakaraṇa sec. of Dattillam ; and 31. 365 ff. of the N. S.).

(v) 'Athāvanaddhaṁ—tatra paushkaravat-karaṇānvitaṁ karuṇānvitam to B. MS. (karaṇanvitaṁ ?) (cha)' :—

This passage refers to the playing of 'avanaddha' (covered) and 'pushkara' (drums, viz., mṛidaṅga, an earthen drum like pakhāvaj ; paṇava, a drum or tabor ; and dardura, a large gong (or bell) instruments. By the use of the word 'kvaṇa' (koṇa ?) it probably refers to the playing of the stringed instrument like 'vīṇā' etc. In connection with the playing of 'pushkara' instrument (which are generally of three kinds) the Viṣṇudharmottara refers to the following technical terms :—

(a) 'Karaṇas' (which are six in number, viz., rūpa, kṛta—pratikṛita, pratibheda, rūpaśesha, ogha and pratiśūshka,—see N. S., v. 92ff., ch. 33) ;

(b) 'Shoḍashāksharas', i. e., 16 syllabic sounds like ka, kha

etc. (these are necessary for the mnemonic patterns of the pusskara music, cf. N. S. v. 40, chap. 33):

(c) 'Pāṇi-prahatas' (hands strokes)--are of five kinds, viz., 'samapāṇi', ardhapāṇi', 'ardhārdha' (not ardhyārdha) as given in the Viṣṇdh.)--'pāṇi', 'ekapāṇi' (it should be pārśvapāṇi) and 'pradeśinī' (samahasta and dvihasta);

(d) 'Mārgas—which are of four varieties, viz., 'ahita' (it should be 'aḍḍita or aḍita), vitasta', 'ālipta' and 'gomukhī' (gomukha);

(e) Āliṅgya'—is probably the name of a drum, which is to be held against the breast of the player;

(f) 'Dakshiṇa' and 'vāma' (or vāmaka) probaly indicate our 'ḍāhinā' and 'bāyā' tablās; and

(g) 'Ûrdhva' (or ûrdhvaka) is probably the name of a drum—(for a detailed discussion of these terms see N. S., vs. 40ff. chap. 33).

(v–a) As to the application of particular strokes in particular 'rasa' or combination of 'rasas' the Viṣṇdh. says that 'aḍḍita' (not aṁghita as given in it) will be made in 'śṛiṅgāra' and 'hāsya' sentiment; 'vitasta' in 'vīra' 'raudra' and 'adbhuta'; 'ālipta' in 'karuṇa' and 'śānta' and 'gomukhī' in bībhatsa and bhayānaka. Musical instruments, like 'dardura' and 'paṇava', should be played according to the 'aṇuvādita' variety (of stroke). It may be pointed out that 'āliṅgya' and 'mṛidaṅga' strokes give rise to the 'aḍḍita mārga.'

(vi) At the end of chapter 19, the Vishṇudharmottara points out that the musicians should sit in the following manner—(known as kutapa, vinyāsa in the N. S.):—

'Bhavanti cātra-nepathya-bhavana-dvāra-samānaraṅgābhi-vīkṣaṇam // murajāḥ (corrupt text—there will be no pl. in muraja and mārdaṅgikāḥ) prshṭhata-steshāṁ tadvanmārjanikāḥ (mārdaṅgikāḥ)

The 'maurajika' and 'mārdaṅgika' (facing the east) between the doors of the green room; the 'pāṇavika' and 'dardurika' on the dakshiṇa side facing the south and looking to the north; the

'gātās' on the south and facing the north; 'vaiṇika' to the left and two vaṁśī-vādakas' to their right, and 'gāyikās' in the front of the 'gātās'. This description of the Viṣṇdh. tallies well with that of the N.S. (see, chap. 28. 4 ; 11. following v. 221. chap. 33).

So, from a study of the above two chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara (18 & 19), it is clear that though the treatment of vocal and instrumental music of this text has many things in common with the Nātyaśāstra and many other ancient texts, it would be wrong to ascribe it to the 8th century A. D. as opined by Dr. M. Ghosh, (op. cit., p. LXVII). The date of the same can hardly go beyond 5th century A. D. (Dr. R. C. Hazra, op. cit, pp. 200-212). We have tried to show in the previous paragraphs that the N. S. was not the only source of the Viṣṇdh., for it evidently follows several other earlier texts like Nāradīya Śikshā, and Vāyupurāṇa. Influences of Vedic and Epic texts as well as other older texts like Dattilam over the Vishṇdh. may also not be ruled out as impossible.

'कति तत्त्वानि'

व्रजवल्लभ द्विवेदः

[In this article Shri Vraj Vallabh Dviveda gives thought to an important passage of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viz. XI. 22. 1-25. In it the problem of the exact number of *Tattvas* or ultimate categories (कति तत्त्वानि) is raised as a question put by Uddhava to Kṛishṇa. The reply is couched in the characteristic Bhāgavata way of synthesis. The learned author elaborates the number of *Tattvas* from one to thirty-four, as advocated by the adherents of the different religious and philosophical systems in ancient India.]

भारतीयदर्शनेषु यैः पदार्थैर्जगद्रचना भवति, सृष्टेरारम्भो विकासश्च भवति, तेषां तत्त्वमिति पारिभाषिकी संज्ञा वर्तते। तत्त्वदेवताप्रमाणादिभेदेन भिन्नेषु भारतीयेषु दर्शनेषु तत्त्वानां संख्यादिविषयेऽतीव वैषम्यं विद्यते। अस्यां परिस्थितौ विभिन्नवादाटवीव्यामूढानां जिज्ञासूनां प्रातिनिध्यमिव कुर्वन्नुद्धवो भागवते भगवन्तं श्रीकृष्णं पृच्छति—

कति तत्त्वानि विश्वेश संख्यातान्यृषिभिः प्रभो।
नवैकादश पञ्च त्रीण्यात्थ त्वमिह शुश्रुम॥
केचित् षड्विंशतिं प्राहुरपरे पञ्चविंशतिम्।
सप्तैके नव षट् केचिच्चत्वार्येकादशापरे॥
केचित् सप्तदश प्राहुः षोडशैके त्रयोदश।

(भाग० ११।२२।१-३)

इतः परमस्याध्यायस्य आपञ्चविंशतिश्लोकं श्रीकृष्णेनैते उद्धवप्रश्नाः समाहिताः। "नैतदेवं यथात्थ त्वं यदहं वच्मि तत्तथा" (११।२२।५) इत्यभिमान एव वादानामेषां प्रवृत्तिहेतुरित्याह श्रीकृष्णः। मतभेदेन तत्त्वसंख्याविषयं विशदं व्याख्याय प्रकरणोऽयमित्थमुपसंहृतः—

इति नानाप्रसंख्यानं तत्त्वानामृषिभिः कृतम् ।
सर्वं न्याय्यं युक्तिमत्त्वाद्विदुषां किमशोभनम् ॥२५॥

एवमेव अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिताया अष्टमाध्यायारम्भे तत्त्वसंख्यामनुरुद्धय प्रवृत्ता विभिन्ना वादाः संक्षेपेण चर्चिताः सन्ति—

केचित् त्रैभूतिकीं सृष्टिं ब्रुवते तत्त्ववादिनः ।
चतुर्भूतमयीमन्ये केऽप्यन्ये पाञ्चभौतिकीम् ॥
तां षड्धातुमयीमेके सप्तधातुमयीं परे ।
अष्टप्रकृतिकां केचिन्नवप्रकृतिकां परे ॥
दशतत्त्वमयीमेके केचिदेकादशात्मिकाम् ।
एवमुच्चावचां संख्यां तत्त्वप्रकृतिगोचराम् ॥
वदन्ति मुनयः सिद्धा देवा वेदास्तथैव च ।

(अहि० ८।२-५)

अत्र भागवतेऽहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां च विभिन्नाभिः संख्याभिः सह भूतधातु-प्रकृतितत्त्वशब्दा व्यवहृताः । पर्यायवाचिन एते शब्दाः । तथापीमे तेषां तेषां वादानां पारिभाषिकीं परम्परां सूचयन्ति—तत्त्वानि कस्मिंश्चिद्वादे भूतनाम्ना, अपरत्र धातुनाम्ना, अन्यत्र च प्रकृतिनाम्ना उच्यन्त इति । अत्रोभयोरपि स्थलयोः परम्परैषा सुरक्षिता तिष्ठति । चरकसंहितायां शारीरस्थाने प्रथमेऽध्याये पुरुषः षड्धातुमयश्चतुर्विंशतिधातुमयश्चोक्तः । अत्र धातुशब्दप्रयोगस्तत्त्वार्थक एव ।

"एवं विवदतां हेतुं शक्तयो मे दुरत्ययाः" (११।२२।५) इति स्पष्टतराया-मुक्तावपि भागवतटीकाकारैरपि समन्वयात्मिका भागवतदृष्टिर्नानुपालिता । भागवत-संमतानि कति तत्त्वानीति विषयेऽपि विवदन्ते ते । भागवतस्य बहूनि व्याख्यानानि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तानि प्रायशो रामानुज-निम्बार्क-मध्व-वल्लभ-चैतन्यानां प्रथितानां वैष्णवाचार्याणां मतान्यनुसरन्ति । अस्य प्रकरणस्यैतन्मतानुयायिभिष्टीकाकारैः स्वस्वसम्प्रदायानुरोधि व्याख्यानं विहितम् । अतः किमत्र भागवतसंमतमिति प्रथमं परीक्ष्यते पुरस्तात् ।

भागवतेऽन्यत्र :—

नवैकादश पञ्च त्रीन् भावान् भूतेषु येन वै।
ईक्षेताथैकमप्येषु तज्ज्ञानं मम निश्चितम् ॥

(११।१९।१४)

इत्यष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानि निदर्शितानि। एषैव भागवतसंमततत्त्वानां संख्या। अत एव प्रकृताध्यायस्यारम्भे—"नवैकादश पञ्चत्रीण्यात्थ त्वमिह शुश्रुम" इत्यत्र त्वमात्थ = उक्तवानसीति प्रोवाच उद्धवः। अत्रोभयोरपि स्थलयोः—प्रकृतिपुरुषौ महदहङ्कारौ, पञ्चतन्मात्राणि, एकादश इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्चभूतानि, त्रयो गुणाश्चेत्यष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानामुल्लेखो वर्तत इत्यत्र प्रायशः सर्वे टीकाकाराः समानाभिप्रायाः।

चैतन्यमतानुयायी विश्वनाथः "नवैकादश" (११।१९।१४) इत्यस्य व्याख्यायाममुमेव क्रमं स्वीकरोति, अन्यत्र (११॥२२।१) तु प्रकृतिस्थाने ईश्वरं गणयित्वा आह—"अत्र प्रकृतिस्थाने त्रयो गुणा एव गृहीताः" इति। एवं चात्र तन्मते त्रयो गुणा एव प्रकृतिस्थानीयाः, तस्याः पृथक् सत्ता नास्ति। एतच्च मतं पाञ्चरात्रसंमतं वर्तते। पाञ्चरात्रसंहितासु प्रकृतिः सांख्यदर्शनवन्न नित्या। तत्र हि सत्त्वरजस्तमसां गुणानां क्रमेणोत्पत्तिर्भवति। उत्पन्नानामेषां गुणानां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः। इत्थं च त्रिगुणरूपैव प्रकृतिरनित्या, न पृथङ्नित्यं प्रकृत्याख्यं तत्त्वं तस्मिन् मते। एतदेवात्र विश्वनाथेनाप्युक्तम्। पूर्वत्र (११।१९।१४) तु तेन प्रकृतेस्त्रिगुणानां च पृथगुल्लेखः कृतः, ईश्वरतत्त्वं च तत्र न परिगणितम्। परस्परविरुद्धमेतत्स्थलद्वयीयं व्याख्यानम्। भागवते—"पुरुषः प्रकृतिः" (११।२२।२४) इत्यत्र प्रकृतेरेव ग्रहणं विद्यते न त्वीश्वरस्य। एवं च विश्वनाथचक्रवर्तिनः प्रकृतिस्थाने ईश्वरस्य ग्रहणं भागवतविरुद्धमेव प्रतीयते। पाञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तानुसरणेनैव तस्य परिहारः कथञ्चित् कर्तुं शक्यते।

विशिष्टाद्वैतिना वीरराघवाचार्येण श्लोकोऽयं (११।२२।१) इत्थं व्याख्यातः "कैश्चिदृषिभिस्तत्त्वानि नव संख्यातानि, कैश्चित्त्वेकादश, कैश्चित्पञ्च। त्वं तु मायामात्रमनूद्यान्ते प्रतिषिध्य प्रशाम्यतीति त्रीणि तत्त्वान्यात्थ" इति। ११।१९।१४ इत्यस्य व्याख्यानावसरे चाष्टाविंशतिभावाः परिगणिताः। आद्येषु नवसु भावेष्वनेन सुदर्शनाचार्येण च शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धा विसर्गशिल्पगत्युक्तयश्च संख्याताः।"

रेतउत्सर्गो मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गश्चेत्युत्सर्गद्वयस्यैककोटित्वप्रापणेन नवेति निर्देशः, अन्यथा दशेति स्यात्" इति समाधानं चोपस्थापितम् ।

परवर्तिभिर्वैष्णवाचार्यैः प्रस्थानत्रयीवद् भागवतस्यापि प्रामाण्यमङ्गीकृत्य प्रस्थानचतुष्टयी संस्थापिता । यद्यपि रामानुजाचार्येण स्वकीयग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि भागवतस्योल्लेखो न विहितः, किन्तु तदनुयायिभिर्भागवतस्यापि विशिष्टाद्वैतानुसारी व्याख्यानं कृतम् । उक्तश्लोकव्याख्यानावसरे तस्यैव परिदर्शनं भवति ।

भागवते (११।२२।३-४) श्लोकयोः २६,२५,७,९,६,४,११,१७, १६,१३ संख्याकानां तत्त्वानामुल्लेखः, परवर्तिषु श्लोकेषु तेषां निरूपणं च विद्यते । अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायामपि तत्त्वत्रयत आरभ्य एकादशतत्त्वं यावत् परिगणितानि, किन्तु तेषां विवरणं तत्र नास्ति । भागवते तेषां सत्यपि संक्षिप्ते विवरणे विभिन्नसंख्याकानां तत्त्वानामेषामङ्गीकर्तार आचार्याः सम्प्रदाया दर्शनानि वा कानीति न परिज्ञायते । अन्यत्र च २७,३१,३२,३६ संख्याकान्यपि तत्त्वान्युपलभ्यन्ते । सर्वेषामेषां विषये संक्षेपेणात्र विचारः प्रस्तूयते ।

अद्वैतवादिन एकमेव परमतत्त्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । तद् ब्रह्म, परवासुदेवः, शिवः, शक्तिः, शून्यं वेति दर्शनभेदेन भिद्यते ।

द्वैतवादिनां मते ईश्वरो जीवश्चेति द्वे तत्त्वे स्तः । स्वतन्त्रास्वतन्त्रभेदेन द्विविधं तत्त्वमिति श्रीपूर्णप्रज्ञाचार्यास्तत्त्वसंख्याने प्राहुः । जीवा-जीवाख्ये द्वे तत्त्वे [1]इत्यार्हताः ।

जीवेश्वराभ्यां सह प्रकृतेः संमेलनेन त्रीणि तत्त्वानि जायन्ते । [2]मन्त्रिकोपनिषदि—"अद्वैतं द्वैतमित्याहुस्त्रिधा तम्" इत्युक्तम् । [3]चूलिकोपनिषद्यपि पाठभेदेनैतद्वचनमुपलभ्यते । छान्दोग्योपनिषदि (६।४) पृथिव्यप्तेजांसि सृष्टिकारणत्वेन व्याख्यातानि । एतदेव वेदान्तसिद्धायास्त्रिवृत्करणप्रक्रियाया आधारस्थलम् । अन्यत्र च "स एकधा भवति त्रिधा भवति पञ्चधा सप्तधा नवधा पुनश्चैकादशः स्मृतः"

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१. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे, पृ. २७ आनन्दाश्रमीये द्वितीये संस्करणे ।
२. निर्णयसागरीयोपनिषत्संग्रहस्य पञ्चमे संस्करणे, पृ. २५२
३. आनन्दाश्रमीयोपनिषदां समुच्चये, पृ. २७२

(७।२६।२) इत्युक्तम् । [1]केचन आचार्यास्त्रयो गुणा एव जगत्कारणानीति मन्वते। रामानुजनिम्बार्काचार्ययोर्मते ब्रह्मचिदचिन्नामकानि त्रीणि तत्त्वानि सन्ति। रामानुजमतानुयायिनौ सुदर्शनसूरिवीरराघवाचार्यौ निम्बार्कानुयायी शुकदेवश्च भागवतस्यैतस्य प्रकरणस्य तत्त्वत्रयप्रतिपादनपरमेव व्याख्यानं कृतवन्तः। अपरे रामानुजीया द्रव्याद्रव्यभेदेन द्विविधं तत्त्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।

चार्वाकाश्चतुर्भूतमयीं सृष्टिमातन्वते। एभिराकाशं नाङ्गीकृतम् । पालिवाङ्मयेऽपि महाभूतेषु धातुषु वा आकाशः न परिगणितः। तत्रापि चत्वार्येव महाभूतानि। परवर्तिनि बौद्धसाहित्येऽस्यासंस्कृतधातुषु समावेशः कृतः। बुद्धकालीनाः केचन जडवादिनो दार्शनिका अपि चत्वारि भूतानि मन्यन्ते स्म। भागवते "चत्वार्येवेति तत्रापि तेज आपोऽन्नमात्मनः" (११।२२।२१) इति चत्वारि भूतानि परिगणितानि। अत्र छान्दोग्योपनिषद्वर्णिततत्त्वत्रयैः साकं चतुर्थमात्मतत्त्वं समावेशितम् ।

पञ्चभूतात्मिका सृष्टिरुपनिषत्सु नैकत्र परिवर्णिता। वेदान्तस्य पञ्चीकरणप्रक्रियामुं सिद्धान्तमेवालम्बते। भागवतस्य प्रस्तुते प्रकरणे पञ्चभूतसिद्धान्तः पृथङ् न निर्दिष्टः। अष्टाविंशतितत्त्वपरिगणनावसरे पञ्चशब्देन पञ्चतन्मात्राणां पञ्चभूतानां वोल्लेखष्टीकाकारैः कृतः। "सत्त्वं ज्ञानम्" (११।२२।१३) इति पद्यव्याख्यायां शुकदेवेन ब्रह्मचिदचिद्भिः साकं कालस्वभावयोः परिगणनेन पञ्च तत्त्वानि स्वीकृतानि। वीरराघवेण च "इति नाना" (११।२२।२५) इत्यत्र तेजः, जलम्, अन्नम्, आत्मा, वायुश्चेति पञ्च तत्त्वानि परिदर्शितानि। जीवाकाशधर्माधर्मपुद्गलास्तिकायाः पञ्च तत्त्वानीत्याहुर्हैकदेशिनः[2] ।

"षडित्यत्रापि भूतानि पञ्च षष्ठः परः पुमान्" (११।२२।२०) इति वर्तन्ते षट् तत्त्वानि। अयं च सिद्धान्त आत्मषष्ठवादत्वेन प्रसिद्ध्यति। चरकसंहितायाः शारीरस्थाने चैष "खादयश्चेतनाषष्ठा धातवः पुरुषः स्मृतः" (१।१६) इत्यादिना व्याख्यातः। पञ्चमाध्याये च—" षड्धातुसमुदायो हि

१. तत्रैवटीकायाम्, पृ. २७३
२. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे, पृ. २८

सामान्यतः सर्वलोकः" इत्युक्तम्। अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायाम्—"तां (सृष्टिं) षड्धातुमयीमेके" (८।२) इति षाड्धातुकसृष्टिवाद उपस्थापितः। नागार्जुनेन माध्यमिकवृत्तौ चत्वारि भूतानि, आकाशविज्ञाने चेति षड्धातवः प्रतिपादिताः। षाड्धातुकवाद आयुर्वेदविदां बौद्धानां वा स्यात्। सुश्रुतसंहितायाः शारीरस्थाने—"वैद्यके तु [1]स्वभावमीश्वरं कालं यदृच्छां नियतिं तथा। [2]परिणामं च मन्यन्ते प्रकृतिं पृथुदर्शिनः॥" इति षट् तत्त्वानि परिगणितानि। स्वभावेश्वरकालनियतयो दर्शनान्तरेष्वपि तत्त्वानि स्वीकृतानि। "कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा" (१।२) इति श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि यदृच्छातत्त्ववादिनामुल्लेखो वर्तते।

"सप्तैव धातव इति तत्रार्थाः पञ्च खादयः। ज्ञानमात्मा" (११।२२।१४) अत्र सप्तधातुवादः समुपस्थापितः। व्याख्यातृभिश्च ज्ञानमात्मा चेति जीवात्मपरमात्मानावङ्गीकृतौ। वस्तुतस्त्वेदपि मतमायुर्वेदविदां प्रतीयते। चरकसंहितायाः पूर्वोद्धृते स्थले यद्यपि चेतनाधातुरेव पुरुषोऽङ्गीकृतस्तथाप्यात्मनः पृथग् ज्ञानमङ्गीकुर्वतामपि तत्र कश्चन मतविशेषः स्यादिति संभाव्यते। भागवते—"सत्त्वं ज्ञानं[3] रजः कर्म तमोऽज्ञानमिहोच्यते। गुणव्यतिकरः कालः स्वभावः सूत्रमेव च॥" (११।२२।१३) इत्यत्रान्येषां तत्त्वानां परिगणितेष्वष्टाविंशतितत्त्वेषु समावेशः कृतः। अतो ज्ञायते केषाञ्चन मते एतानि तत्त्वान्तराण्यासन्निति। श्लोकोऽयं व्याख्यातृभिरनेकधा व्याख्यातः। अनेकैरत्र केवलं कालस्वभावौ चर्चितौ। केचन कालमेव मतान्तरेण पृथक् तत्त्वमङ्गीकृत्य तस्य गुणेषु समावेशं कुर्वन्ति। अपरे सूत्रमपि पृथक्तत्त्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। श्रीधरस्वामिनात्र ज्ञानादीनां यथायथमन्तर्भावः। प्रदर्शितः। राधारमणगोस्वामिनैकादशश्लोकव्याख्यायां ज्ञानतत्त्वस्य पार्थक्यशङ्कोपस्थापिता। त्रयोदशः श्लोको यद्यपि श्रीधरस्वामिना न विशदं व्याख्यातस्तथापि तत्प्रदर्शितया पद्धत्या श्लोकस्यास्य—ज्ञानस्य सत्त्वे, कर्मणो रजसि, अज्ञानस्य

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१. म. म. गोपीनाथकविराजमहोदयेन "Theism in Ancient India" शीर्षके निबन्धे स्वभाव-नियति-काल-यदृच्छावादानां सम्यक् परिचय उपस्थापितः। द्रष्टव्यम्—Sarasvati Bhavan Studies, Vol. II, P. 93-111.

२. "प्रधानमेव महदहङ्कारादिरूपतया परिणतं सर्वस्य निमित्तमिति परिणामवादिनः" इति डल्हणाचार्यो व्याचख्यौ।

३. "सत्त्वात् संजायते ज्ञानम्" (भगवद्गीतायाम्, १४।१७)

तमसि समावेशः, कालो गुणानां व्यतिकर एव, स्वभावः सूत्रमर्थान्महत्तत्त्वमित्यर्थः संपद्यते। वराहमिहिरेण बृहत्संहितायाम्—"कालं कारणमेके स्वभावमपरे परे जगुः कर्म" (१।७) इत्युक्तम्। तद्व्याख्यायां भट्टोत्पलेनैतानि मतानि संक्षेपेण निरूपितानि। वल्लभमतानुयायी पुरुषोत्तमः प्रस्थानरत्नाकरे प्रमेयप्रकरणे (पृ. १६४-१६५) प्रमेयस्य स्वरूपकोटौ अक्षरेण सह कालस्वभावकर्मणां समावेशं करोति। एवमेव ज्ञानाज्ञाने तत्त्वान्तरे इत्यङ्गीकुर्वाणा आसन् केचन। ज्ञानं तत्त्वान्तरमित्यङ्गीकुर्वाणा आयुर्वेदविद एव स्युः, यतो हि भागवतेऽहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां चात्र धातुशब्दप्रयोगो विद्यते। बौद्धानां वैतन्मतं स्यात्। नागार्जुनेन माध्यमिकवृत्तौ पञ्च महाभूतानि विज्ञानं चेति षड्धातवोऽभिहिताः। विज्ञानं चात्र ज्ञानस्वरूपमेव। शिवोपनिषदि—"पञ्चविंशकमज्ञानम्" (१।१२) इत्यज्ञानं पञ्चविंशतितमं तत्त्वमङ्गीकृतम्। "अज्ञानमेव मुमुक्षुणा मुक्तिपथप्रवृत्तेनाभ्युपगन्तव्यम्, न तु ज्ञानम्" इत्यज्ञानवादिनां मतं गुणरत्नेन [1]षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायां प्रपञ्चितम्। पालिवाङ्मये पकुधकच्चायनस्यान्येषां दार्शनिकानां च सप्तकायवाद उपस्थापितः। अत्र चत्वारि महाभूतानि, आत्मा, सुखदुःखे चेति सप्त तत्त्वान्यङ्गीकृतानि। जीवाजीवास्रवबन्धसंवरनिर्जरमोक्षाः सप्त तत्त्वानीत्यपरे [2]आर्हतैकदेशिनः।

अष्टतत्त्ववादिनः सिद्धान्तस्य भागवते नोल्लेखः, अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां तु वर्तते। अनया संख्यया सह तत्र प्रकृतिशब्दप्रयोगो वर्तते। एष च सिद्धान्तो गीतायाम्—"भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च। अहङ्कार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा॥" (७।४) इत्येवमुपलभ्यते। चरकसंहितायां शारीरस्थाने-प्रकृतिश्चाष्टधातुकी" (१।१७) इत्युक्तम्। शिवपुराणे[3] च प्रकृतिमहदहङ्कारपञ्चतन्मात्ररूपा अष्टौ प्रकृतय उक्ताः। गीतायामत्र सांख्यसंमतमूलप्रकृतेः परिगणनं नास्ति। तस्य स्थाने मनः परिगृहीतम्, संमिलितानामेषामष्टधा भिन्ना प्रकृतिरिति च निरूपणं कृतम्। इयं चापरा प्रकृतिः। भागवते—"अष्टौ प्रकृतयश्चैव पुरुषश्च नवेत्यथ" (११।२२।२४) इति नवतत्त्वपरिगणनेऽष्टप्रकृतीनामुल्लेखोऽस्ति। एतच्च गीतासंमतमेव प्रतीयते, यतो हि तत्राष्टप्रकृतिभ्योऽतिरिक्तं नवमं

१. द्रष्टव्यम्—पृ. १६-१८
२. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे, पृ. २४
३. शिवपुराणे वायवीयसंहितायां पूर्वभागे, १०।३६

तत्त्वमात्मा। एतदेव—इतस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम्। जीवभूताम्" (७।५) इति गीतायां जीवभूतापरा प्रकृतिरित्युक्तम्। [1]महाभारते शान्तिपर्वणि सप्तर्षयः स्वायंभुवो मनुश्चेत्यष्टौ प्रकृतय उक्ताः। आभ्योऽष्टाभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यश्चेदं विश्वं जगज्जातमिति। प्राचीनबौद्धजैनग्रन्थेभ्यः प्रतीयते यत्तदा सर्वैरपि दार्शनिकैश्चत्वारि तत्त्वानि निर्विवादं स्वीकृतान्यासन्। आकाशकालदिशः पृथक् तत्त्वानि सन्ति न वेत्यत्र महान् विवादः प्रचलति स्म। पृथक् तत्त्ववादिनः प्रबलाभिर्युक्तिभिस्तान्यसाधयन्। एभिः सप्तभिर्द्रव्यैः सहात्ममनसोः संयोगेन वैशेषिकैः प्राभाकरैश्च नव द्रव्याणि स्वीकृतानि। षड्दर्शनसमुच्चये—"जीवाजीवौ तथा पुण्यं पापमास्रवसंवरौ। बन्धश्च निर्जरामोक्षौ नवतत्त्वानि तन्मते॥" (४७ का.) इति जैनमते नवतत्त्वानि प्रदर्शितानि।

दशतत्त्ववादी सिद्धान्तो भागवते नोपलभ्यते, अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां च दृश्यते। अत्र कानि दश तत्त्वानि? के चास्य सिद्धान्तस्यानुयायिनः। संस्थापका वेति विचारार्होऽयं विषयः। कुमारिलभट्टेन वैशेषिकाणां नवद्रव्येषु शब्दतमसी समाविष्टे, अथ चैकादश द्रव्याण्यङ्गीकृतानि। मीमांसका वेदापौरुषेयवादिनः। तत्र शब्दस्य नित्यत्वमत एव द्रव्यत्वं चाङ्गीक्रियते। वैशेषिकमीमांसकयोर्मध्ये तमोद्रव्यवादिनोऽथ च शब्दगुणवादिनो दार्शनिकाः संभाव्यन्ते। तमोद्रव्यवादस्य वैशेषिकग्रन्थेषु महता आडम्बरेण खण्डनं दरीदृश्यते।

अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायामेकादशतत्त्वेभ्योऽधिकानि न परिगणितानि। भागवते—"एकादशत्वे आत्मासौ महाभूतेन्द्रियाणि च" (११।२२।२४) इत्येकादश तत्त्वानि सन्ति। तथैव—"भूतेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव मन आत्मा त्रयोदश" (११।२२।२३) इति त्रयोदश तत्त्वानि कथितानि। अत्रात्मनो जीवात्मपरमात्मानौ द्वौ भेदौ विधाय टीकाकारैस्त्रयोदशसंख्या संपादिता।

"संख्याने सप्तदशके भूतमात्रेन्द्रियाणि च। पञ्चपञ्चैक मनसा आत्मा सप्तदशः स्मृतः॥ तद्वत्षोडशसंख्याने आत्मैव मन उच्यते।" (११।२२।२२-२३) अत्र सप्तदशतत्त्वानां षोडशतत्त्वानां च परिगणनमस्ति। नैयायि-

1. शान्तिपर्वणि (मोक्षधर्मे), ३४०।३४-३६, पृ. ५३५६-५३५७

कानां प्रमाणप्रमेयादयः षोडश पदार्थाः [1]प्रमाणसमुच्चये तद्वृत्तौ च षोडशतत्त्वरूपेण परिगणिताः। प्रश्नोपनिषदि—"षोडशकलः पुरुषः" (६।१) इत्युक्तम्। षोडशकलाश्च—"स प्राणमसृजत प्राणाच्छ्रद्धां खं वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवीन्द्रियं मनः। अन्नमन्नाद्वीर्यं तपो मन्त्राः कर्म लोका लोकेषु च नाम च॥" (६।४) इति परिगणिताः। आभिः कलाभिः सह वर्तमानः पुरुषः स्वयं सप्तदशः स्मृतः। भागवतीयनिरूपणस्य तु कश्चनान्य एवाधारः स्यात्।

निम्बार्कमतानुयायिना शुकदेवेन "पुरुषः प्रकृतिर्व्यक्तम्" (११।२२।१४-१५) इत्यादिश्लोकद्वयव्याख्यायां विंशतितत्त्वपक्ष उपस्थापितः, न केनाप्यन्येन टीकाकारेण। वस्तुतस्त्वत्राध्यायारम्भे परिगणितानां नवतत्त्वानामथ चैकादशतत्त्वानां परिगणनमस्ति, पञ्च तत्त्वानि (पञ्च महाभूतानि), त्रीणि तत्त्वानि (त्रिगुणानि) च प्रसिद्धानि, अतस्तानि नोल्लिखितानि। अग्रिमे श्लोके ज्ञानेन्द्रियकर्मेन्द्रियाणां दश विषया निरूपिता वर्तन्ते। अस्य श्लोकस्य व्याख्याकारैरन्यथैव व्याख्यानं विहितम्। श्रीधरस्वामिना पूर्वार्द्धे पञ्चतत्त्वानि, उत्तरार्द्धे च कर्मेन्द्रियाणां फलानि प्रदर्शितानि। चैतन्यमतानुयायिना जीवगोस्वामिना विश्वनाथेन चाप्ययमेवार्थः प्रकटीकृतः। विजयध्वजेन शुकदेवेन चोपरि प्रदर्शितो यथार्थ एवात्र प्रकटीकृतः, पूर्वत्र (११।१४।१४) तु नवैव विषयाः परिगणिताः। माध्वमते—परमात्मलक्ष्मीजीवाव्याकृताकाशप्रकृतिगुणत्रयमहत्तत्त्वाहङ्कारतत्त्वबुद्धिमनइन्द्रियमात्राब्रह्माण्डाविद्यावर्णान्धकारवासनाकालप्रतिविम्बभेदाद् विंशतिद्रव्याण्यङ्गीकृतानि सन्ति।

प्रकृत्यादिचतुर्विंशतिजडतत्त्वानि चेतनं पुरुषतत्त्वं च स्वीकृत्य सांख्यकारिकायां पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानि निरूपितानि। पुराणेषु प्रतिपादिते निरीश्वरसांख्ये एतेषां विस्तरेण प्रपञ्चो विद्यते। योगसूत्रे, महाभारते, पुराणेषु च प्रदर्शिते सेश्वरसांख्ये ईश्वरेण सह षड्विंशतितत्त्वानि सन्ति। [2]माण्डूक्यकारिकायां [3]मण्डलब्राह्मणोपनिषदि चैतानि चर्चितानि। [4]महोपनिषदि, [5]नारदपरिव्राजकोपनिषदि,

१. "तत्त्वानि षोडशामुत्र" (१४ कारि.)।
२. मा. का. २।२६ ३. म. ब्रा. उ. १।४ ४. म. उ. १।१
५. निर्णयसागरीयोपनिषत्संग्रहस्य पञ्चमे संस्करणे, पृ. ३२१

[1]नारायणपूर्वतापिन्यां च पञ्चविंशति तत्त्वानि निरूपितानि। [2]सामरहस्योपनिषदि महाविष्णुः षड्विंशं तत्त्वं निगदितम्। [3]मन्त्रिकोपनिषत् [4]चूलिकोपनिषच्च षड्विंशं सप्तविंशं च तत्त्वमङ्गीकुरुतः। शिवोपनिषदि—"गुणो बुद्धिरहङ्कारस्तन्मात्राणीन्द्रियाणि च। भूतानि च चतुर्विंशदिति पाशाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ पञ्चविंशकमज्ञानं सहजं सर्वदेहिनाम्। पाशजालस्य तन्मूलं प्रकृतिः कारणाय नः॥ षड्विंशकश्च पुरुषः पशुरज्ञः शिवागमे। सप्तविंश इति प्रोक्तः शिवः सर्वजगत्पतिः॥" (१।११-१३) इत्येवं तत्त्वानि निरूपितानि। चूलिकोपनिषद्व्याख्याता [5]नारायणः—"मात्रा भूतानीन्द्रियाणि मनोबुद्धिरहङ्कृतिः। महान् प्रधानं तत्त्वानि षड्विंशः परमेश्वरः॥ चित्तेन साहित्ये सप्तविंशः" इत्येवं सप्तविंशतितत्त्वानि परिगणयति। "सप्तविंशमथापरे" इति श्रुतिव्याख्यानावसरे [6]वीरराघवाचार्यः [7]सुदर्शनाचार्यश्च सप्तविंशतितत्त्वसंख्यां कालं पृथक्तत्त्वमङ्गीकृत्य पूरयतः। [8]वेदान्तदेशिकेनापि—"तं षड्विंशकमित्याहुः सप्तविंशमथापरे" इति श्रुतिं समुद्धृत्य कालः परमव्योम (नित्यविभूतिः) च पृथक्तत्त्वे परिगणितो सर्वमेतदुपर्युद्धृतशिवोपनिषद्वचनापरिचयसूचकं प्रतीयते।

भागवतसंमतान्यष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानि पूर्वं निरूपितानि। पुरुषोत्तमेन प्रस्थानरत्नाकरे प्रमेयप्रकरणे (पृ. १६४) प्रमेयस्य स्वरूपकोटि-कारणकोटि-कार्यकोटिनामानस्त्रयो भेदाः कृताः। स्वरूपकोटौ अक्षर-काल-कर्म-स्वभावानां परिगणनमस्ति। कारणकोटौ भागवतसंमतानामष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानामन्तर्भावो विद्यते। अपूर्ण एवायं ग्रन्थ उपलब्धः, अतः कार्यकोटौ केषां परिगणनमिति न परिज्ञायते।

अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां शुद्धेतरसृष्टिप्रकरणे षष्ठेऽध्याये कूटस्थपुरुषस्य त्रिगुणानां च मध्ये शक्तिनियतिकालानां त्रयाणां तत्त्वानां परिगणनं वर्तते। कालात् क्रमशः सत्त्वरजस्तमसामुत्पत्तिः। एषां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः। प्रकृतिश्च

१. अड्यारसंस्करणे, पृ. ७८ २. तत्रैव, पृ. २४१
३. निर्णयसागरियोपनिषत्संग्रहस्य पञ्चमे संस्करणे, पृ. २५२
४. आनन्दाश्रमीयोपनिषदां समुच्चये, पृ. २७२
५. तत्रैव, पृ. २७३
६. भागवतव्याख्यायाम्, ११।२२।१३-१६ ७. तत्रैव, ११।२२।१७
८. वेदान्तदेशिकग्रन्थमालायां तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापे, पृ. १६३

त्रिगुणेभ्यो न पृथक् तत्त्वान्तरम्। भागवते तु प्रकृतिस्त्रिगुणानि च पृथक् तत्त्वान्तराणि सन्ति। एवं चाहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि प्रतिपादितानि। अत्र च शुद्धसृष्टेः समावेशो नास्ति।

माण्डूक्यकारिकायाम्—"एकत्रिंशक इत्याहुः" (२।२६) इत्येकत्रिंशत्तत्त्ववादी सिद्धान्त उल्लिखितः। अत्र भाष्ये—"पाशुपतास्तु रागाविद्यानियतिकालमायाधिकास्त एवैकत्रिंशत्पदार्था इति ब्रुवते" इत्युक्तम्। शैवागमेषु षट्त्रिंशत्पदार्था इति ब्रुवते" इत्युक्तम्। शैवागमेषु षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि प्रतिपादितानि। तत्रोक्तेष्वेकत्रिंशत्तत्त्वेषु शिवशक्तिसदाशिवेश्वरशुद्धविद्यानामकानां पञ्चतत्त्वानां संयोजनेनैषा संख्या संपद्यते।

माध्वमतानुयायी विजयध्वजः "सर्गादौ" (११।२२।१७) इति पद्यव्याख्यायाम्—"चतुस्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानीति भागवतं मतम्" इत्याह।

षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायां गुणरत्नकृतायाम्—"सूत्रकृदाख्ये द्वितीयेऽङ्गे परप्रावादुकानां त्रीणि शतानि त्रिषष्ट्यधिकानि परिसंख्यायन्ते। तदर्थसंग्रहगाथेयम्—

[1]असिइसयं किरियाणं अकिरियवाईण होइ चुलसीई।
अन्नाणिअ सत्तट्ठी वेणइयाणं च बत्तीसं॥" (पृ० १०)

इत्युक्तम्। अन्यान्यपि नानामतानि बौद्धनिकायेषु महाभारतपुराणादिषु च दरीदृश्यन्ते। अस्यां परिस्थितौ विविधास्वासु दृष्टिषु सामञ्जस्यं सम्पादयता भागवतकारेण युक्तमेवोक्तम्—"इति नाना प्रसंख्यानं तत्त्वानामृषिभिः कृतम्। सर्वं न्याय्यम्" (११।२२।२५) इति। इयमेव भागवतानां समन्वयात्मिका दृष्टिः कालक्रमेण पल्लविता। एतत्प्रभावितानामेव—"यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति" इत्यादयः पद्यबन्धाः समुपलभ्यन्ते। अत एव [2]केनचिच्चिरन्तनेनार्हतेनाप्युक्तम्—

श्रोतव्यः सौगतो धर्मः कर्तव्यः पुनरार्हतः।
वैदिको व्यवहर्तव्यो ध्यातव्यः परमः शिवः॥

१. अशीत्यधिकं शतं क्रियावादिनाम् अक्रियावादिनां भवति चतुरशीतिः। अज्ञानिनां सप्तषष्टिर्वैनयिकानां च द्वात्रिंशत्॥ इति च्छाया।

२. षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायां मणिभद्रकृतायाम्, पृ. ६५ (तृतीये संस्करणे)

METRES IN THE HARIVAṀŚA PURĀṆA

BY

BINA PANDEY

[अस्मिन् लेखे हरिवंशपुराणान्तर्गतानि छन्दांसि आश्रित्य विचारः क्रियते। तत्र सर्वप्राधान्येन तु श्लोकवृत्तस्य संप्रयोगः। तदन्तरम्आर्या-वसन्ततिलकोपजातिवंशस्थेन्दुवज्रेन्द्रवंशोपेन्द्रवज्रा - रुचिरा - वातोर्मी - मालिनी-शालिनी-प्रहर्षिणी-पुष्पिताग्रापरवक्त्राख्यानि छन्दांसि ग्रन्थे काव्यात्मकत्व-प्रतिपादनाय रसानुकूल्येन भावानामभिव्यक्तये च प्रयुक्तानि। अन्यविधानि छन्दांसि पादेषु वर्णानां न्यूनाधिक्येन विषमवृत्तस्वरूपाणि। तैः ग्रन्थस्य आपेक्षिकं प्राचीनत्वं सूच्यते। पद्यगन्धिगद्यांशस्यापि एकमुदाहरणं हरिवंशे प्राप्यते, तत्तु स्तोत्रे एव।]

About three-fouths of the epic and Purāṇic poetry is couched in the Anushṭup or Śloka metre. But other classical Kāvya (metres have also been used for an explicit purpose. The metres of the Harivaṁśa may broadly be classified under three different heads, viz. regular metres with fixed number of syllables, irregular metres with some uneven Pādas i. e. the Vishama Vṛittas of Sanskrit poetry, and thirdly some prose-like metres which seem to have been used for a variety of purpose on occasions.

THE REGULAR METRES

Of the regular metres besides the Śloka the Harivaṁśa has the following :—

आर्या, वसन्ततिलका, उपजाति, वंशस्थ, इन्द्रवज्रा, इन्द्रवंशा, उपेन्द्रवज्रा, रुचिरा, वातोर्मी, मालिनी, शालिनी, प्रहर्षिणी, पुष्पिताग्रा, अपरवक्त्र.

Of these Āryā has been used twice in the Hariv. in the beginning of the Harivaṁśaparvan.[1] Vasantatilakā occurs twice and that also in the beginning of the Harivaṅśaparvan.[2] Both these metres have been used only to sing the praise

1. **Hariv. I. I. 3, 7.**
2. **" I. I. 2, 4.**

of the Hariv. and its compiler. Vasantatilakā is one of the rare metres of the Mbh. like the Hariv.[1] These two metres become common in the later Purāṇas, being set apart for expressing the emotions of the devotees. This use of the Vasantatilakā finds culmination in the Padma[2] and to an extent in the Bhāgavata.

Certain metres in the Hariv. have been used for the explicit purpose of introducing variety in between the monotonous Śloka metre. Sometimes the change of metre takes place where the poet experiences intensity of emotion. Thus the chapter narrating the grandeur of Vishṇu including his incarnations presents the prosaic enumeration of the deeds of each incarnation in Śloka metre, while the virtues of Vishṇu have been expressed though the Upajāti, Upendravajrā, Indravajrā and Vaṁśastha.[3]

A number of other instances exhibiting the intensity of emotion of a slightly different nature may be cited in the Hariv. The poet in close kinship with Nature is exalted to a state of ecstacy and the metres are Upajāti, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Vaṁśastha. The description of the rainy season by Pradyumna is in the Upajāti metre.[4]

It is a chapter of grand aesthetic appeal. Pradyumna registers similar intensity of emotion for the flaming beauty of Prabhāvatī. Upajāti is the most suitable metre for such poetry.

Upajāti, Vaṁśastha, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Indravaṁśā are some of the metres which the Hariv. employs for the feeling of devotion to God. Thus, Janārdana, one of the devotees of Vishṇu, who has gone into raptures at seeing Kṛishṇa utters his experience through the Indravajrā metre—

1. Vasantatilakā has been used 7 times in the Mbh. while it occurs only 5 times in the Hariv.

2. Padma, Uttara. 294. 112 ; Uttara 19. 45 ; Sṛishṭi 28. 157.

3. Hariv. 3. 82.

4. „ 2. 95. 1-39.

अद्राक्षमेनं यदुभिः पुरातनैः संसेव्यमानं मुनिवृन्दमुख्यैः ।
संस्तूयमानं प्रभुभिः समागधैः स्मितप्रवालाधरपल्लवारुणम् [1] ॥

The long prayer to Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu by Ghaṇṭākarṇa is in Indravajrā metre—

यमाहुराद्यं विबुधा जगत्पतिं सर्वस्य धातारमजं जनित्रम् ।
अणोरणीयांसमतिप्रमाणं स्थूलात्स्थविष्ठं हरिमेव विष्णुम् [2] ॥

Like the Indravajrā and Indravaṁśā, Upendravajrā has frequently been used to enshrine the tender feelings of devotion to God. The long prayer to Nṛisiṁha by Brahmā after the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu is in the Upendravajrā—

परां च सिद्धिं परमं च देवं परं च मन्त्रं परमं मनश्च ।
परं च धर्मं परमं यशश्च त्वामाहुरग्र्यं पुरुषं पुराणम् [3] ॥

Exceptions abound not only in the Hariv. but also in the other Purāṇas and epics, Thus the thoughts of devotion to the deity have sometimes been expressed in the simple Śloka metre, as in the mutual prayers between Śiva and Vishṇu in the Bhavishyaparvan[4] and the prayers to goddess Āryā by the sages[5], Pradyumna[6] and Aniruddha[7]. Some of the prayers in the Hariv. have also been expressed in irregular metres.

The later Purāṇas have a larger number of classical metres than the older ones. But the Purāṇas of a still later period have their metres restricted to Vaṁśastha and Upajāti. Thus these two metres have frequently been used for prayers in the Bṛihannāradīya[8] and Bṛihaddharma[9], as mentioned before.

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1. Hariv. 3. 118. 3.
2. " 3. 82. 11; also 3. 80. 38-51
3. " 3. 47. 27, also 28-33.
4. Hariv. 3. 87-90
5. " 2 3.
6. " 2. 107. 6-13.
7. " 2- 120. 6-34.
8. Bṛhannāradīya. 1. 66; 2.11 (Bibl. Indica).
9. Bṛhaddharma, Pūrv. 5. (Bibl. Indica).

The Paurāṇikas are not very rigid in conforming to a particular metre. Consequently, the Śloka, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Indravaṁśā, and sometimes Drutavilambita have been freely used for diverse expresions.

Sometimes the purpose of inserting a metre in between the monotonous Śloka is slightly different in the Purāṇas and epics including the Hariv. There is a common tendency to change the metre at the end of a canto. The changed metre sometimes acts as a concluding passage, in which the idea scattered in the canto is neatly summed up. For instance, the chapters describing the battle between the gods and the demons, usually end with a change in metre. The chapter which describes the march of Śambara ends in Indravajrā—

व्यासक्तवैडूर्यसुवर्णजालं, नानाविहंगैरपि भक्तिचित्रम् ।
विद्युत्प्रभं भीमरवं सुवेगं रथं समारुह्य रराज दैत्यः ॥[1]

The chapter which narrates 'Śiva's arrival to see Kṛishṇa on the peak of Badarī ends in an appropriate Vaṁśastha :

स सर्वलोकप्रभवो भवो विभुः, जटी च साक्षात्प्रणवात्मकः कृती ।
द्रष्टुं हरिं विष्णुमुदारविक्रमो ययौ यथेष्टं पिशिताशनैर्वृतः ॥[2]

The Purāṇas, the Mbh. and the Hariv. show only restricted instances of changing the metre at the end of a chapter, but the Sargas of the Rāmāyaṇa usually end in metres other than the Śloka, a feature well maintained in the classical Kāvyas where change of meter at the end of a Sarga was considered essential.

The metres like Mālinī, Pushpitāgrā, Ruchirā, Praharshiṇī, Vātormī, Śālinī and Aparavaktra have been put in between the Śloka for the purpose of giving vent to feelings of deeper nature as in the case of the other metres discussed above.

These metres put in between the common Śloka for the

1. Hariv. 3. 5. 28.
2. „ 3. 86. 18.

purpose of variety depend on the fancy of the poets. Hopkins is right when he calls these fancy metres, as at times these have been used with no special purpose in view but only to exhibit the poet's stock of metres. The statement holds ground if we observe the places where these fancy metres have been used. These metres in the Hariv. do not lack irregularities, which is so common an element of the irregular metres of the epics and Purāṇas. They have some common flaws and are less polished than those found in the Kāvyas.

The Irregular Metres

Amongst metres of irregular syllables the Mbh. has the greatest number, Hariv. has less of them and the Purāṇas present a still lesser number.

The irregular metres may be called passages of uneven Pādas. These occur twice in the Hariv., firstly in the Rudra stotra by Kaśyapa and secondly in the glorification of Āpas (Water) by a Vratinī in the context of Puṇykavrata :—

आपो देव्य ऋषीणां हि विश्वधात्र्यो
दिव्या मदन्त्यो या शंकरा धर्मधात्र्यः ।
हिरण्यवर्णा पावका शिवतमेन
रसेन श्रेयसो मां जुषन्तु ॥

According to Hopkins the Jagatī and Trishtubh meters with extra syllables are called hypermetre,[3] while Dr. Edgerton amplifying the hypothesis put forth by Hopkins, holds that the metre with less than the required syllables is called submetrical[4]. Arnold calls these irregular metres hybrid verse.[5]

Hopkins has classified hypermetres in the Hariv. into two varieties. The hymn addressed to Āpas by a Vratinī is

1. Hariv. 2. 72.
2. Hariv. 2. 79.9.
3. Hopkins, *GEI.*, p. 252-253.
4. JAOS., Vol. 59, p. 160.
5. Arnold, *Vedic Metre* p. 16.

an instance of single hypermetre. Hopkins calls these hymns single hypermetre, as only three or four syllables are surplus to the fixed number. The prayer to Śiva by Kaśyapa is an instance of double hypermetre because more than three or four syllables exceed the fixed number[1]. The instance of the single and double hypermetre may be read respectively as follows :—

Vishama Vṛitta or Trishṭubh hypermetre

Single hypermetre

आपो देव्य ऋषीणां हि विश्वधान्यो—one syllable more
दिव्या मदन्त्यो याः शङ्करा धर्मधान्यः[2] ।—two syllables more.

Vishama Vṛitta or Trishṭubh double hypermetre.

Double hypermetre

भुङ्क्ते य एको विभुर्जगतो विश्वमग्रयं—four syllables more.
धाम्नां धाम सुकृतित्वान्न धृष्यः[3] ।।—eleven syllables of the Trishṭubh (regular Pāda)

The Mbh. abounds in these irregular metres. It is not necessary that every irregular metre should be a hypermetre. We come across instances where submetrical lines have been inserted between the hypemetrical ones; for instance a Śloka in the Mbh. where a woman, whose son lies dead having been stung by a snake, dissuades a hunter who wants to kill it in revenge, after proving the futility of anger and violence—

नास्मिन् हते पन्नगे पुत्रको मे सम्प्राप्स्यते लुब्धक जीवितं वै ।
गुणं वाऽन्यं नास्य वधे प्रपश्ये तस्मात् सर्पं लुब्धक मुञ्च जीवम्[4] ।।

The above Śloka is an irregular metre as the first part of the second line is Trishṭubh submetrical and the first part of the first line and the second part of the same line is Trishṭubh hypermetre. The first part of the second line has one syllable less

1. Hopkins. *GEI.*, p. 297-298.
2. Hariv. 2. 79. 9.
3. ,, 2. 72. 32.
4. Mbh. XIII 1. 24. (South. Rec., Madras).

while the second part of the same line has two syllables more in a Triṣhtubh pāda. The older portions of the Mbh. have a considerably larger number of such metres.

The Purāṇas give comparatively few instances of such irregular metres. Most of them being later compilations than the older parts of the Mbh. tend more towards polished classical metres.

The Prose-like Metre

The prose-like metres found in the Hariv., the Mbh. and the Purāṇas have a significant place in the history of Indian prosody. Some of the prose passages found in the Mbh. seem to be a queer mingling of prose and poetry.

There is only one instance in the Hariv. where such passages have been used. The prayer to Vishṇu-Nṛisiṁha by Brahmā hns been composed in prose-Iike metre throughout the length of this chapter.[1] These passages cannot rigidly be called prose ones, as we find in some of them a rhyming scheme which is missing in ordinary prose—

विश्वस्य पते घृताच्यसि अनन्तकर्मन् द्रुह्यनवंश स्ववंश विश्वपास्त्वं त्वमेव विश्वं बिभर्षि वरार्थिनो नस्त्रायस्व[2] ।

As regards the position of these prose-like passages in Sanskrit metres not much can be said with certainty. But nobody, it seems, will disagree with the fact that these passages are not very late and that they seem to be an outcome of peculiar fancy of the Sanskrit prose-writers for poetry. Hopkins holds that these prose-like passages come between prose and metre. These prose-passages are neither old nor absolutely later and reflect the tendency of the prose-writers who could not abstain from the charm of poetry.[3]

1. Hariv.3. 68. 7. 2. Ibid. 3. 68. 7.

3. Hopkins, *GEI.*, p. 272 : Of what sort is this metrical prose ? It is, I think, an early form of popular verse, older than the present epic Śloka, which as I have remarked above is probably more refined than it was when first written and is less free even than the epic Śloka. It is not, however, necessarily antique, nor necessarily modern. It is, in short, the instrument of the perpetual story-teller, a naive form recurring in and out of proselike rhymes in fairy tales.

The prose-like metres mentioned above should not be confused with pure prose found in the Mbh. and in some of the Purāṇas. Thus the prose which has been used for the philosophical discussion of the sages cannot be confused with prose-like metre. This is because this prose resembles the terse prose of the commentator.[1]

The third variety of prose-passages may be seen in the Purāṇas. These passages come in between the terse prose-style of the Mbh. and the prose-like metre of the Hariv. and also of some parvans of the Mbh. But the passages of the third type found in the Purāṇas bring out beautiful imageries, at times touching the level of the ornate and refined Kāvyas. These passages have some resemblance with those found in the Kādambarī or later prose works of similar nature.[2]

To conclude, from the point of view of prosody, the Hariv. seems to be of an earlier stage than most of the other Purāṇas.

Firstly the poet of the Hariv. has been careful enough to make a proper distribution of the metres in his text, even if there is not a good number of them. The charm of the Śloka metre, however, is supreme in his mind.

Secondly, some of the metres found in the later Purāṇas are missing in the Hariv.; e.g. Lalita and Drutavilambita[3] are non-existent in the Hariv.

Thirdly, the Vasantatilakā occurs only twice in the Hariv. This metre is not much popular in the two epics. But it has become a favourite mode of expression in the Purāṇas like the Bhāgavata, the Padma and the Vishṇu.

1. Mbh. XII. 303. 7-10—यद्भवानाह किं व्यक्तं किमव्यक्तमिति । अत्र ब्रूमः । अव्यक्तमग्राह्यमतर्क्यमपरिमेयमव्यक्तम् ।

2. Bhāgavata. V. 2. 4—सा च तदाश्रमोपवनमतिरमणीयं विविधनिबिडविटपिविटपनिकरसंश्लिष्टपुरटलतारूढस्थलविहंगमिथुनैः......जलाशयकमलाकरमुपबभ्राम।

Padma. Pātala 112. 51—शीघ्रं विविधकरितुरगशकटशिबिकान्दोलिकाभिरतिसुभगरूपभोगविलासक्रियातिगुणा हि विदितविविधचेष्टा ...योषितो......आगच्छन् ।

3. Padma. Uttāra, 224. 18. (Ānandāśrama San. Series).

The poetry of the Purāṇas exhibits three different tunes in the use of metres. The earlier Purāṇas do not have a large number of them, while the later ones show a tendency to overemphasise the variety. The Purāṇas of more recent compilation have fallen back again on the Śloka metre paying no heed to the effect which the variety of metres has on the mind of the reader. Hence the later Purāṇas of encyclopaedic nature like the Agni, Garuḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bṛihannāradīya, Bṛihaddaharma and Brahmavaivarta have to some extent ignored the value of the fancy-metres as a means to literary accomplishment.

पुराणचयनम्

महादेवी गायत्री

विराड्रूपां महादेवीं गायत्रीं वेदमातरम् ।
ध्यात्वा तस्यास्त्वथाङ्गेषु ध्यायेदेताश्च देवताः ॥
पिण्डब्रह्माण्डयोरैक्याद्भावयेत्स्वतनौ तथा ।
देवीरूपे निजे देहे तन्मयत्वाय साधकः ॥
नादेवोऽभ्यर्चयेद् देवमिति वेदविदो विदुः ।
ततोऽभेदाय काये स्वे भावयेद् देवता इमाः ॥

(देवीभागवत १२।४।४-६)

One should meditate upon the Great Goddess in Her cosmic form as Gāyatrī, the mother of the Vedas. In the various limbs of Her body he should meditate on the several deties.

Similarly the devotee should conceive in his own body the identity of the microcosm and the macrocosm. Regarding the body as a form of the Goddess Herself, he should meditate to become identified with Her.

Those versed in the Vedas declare that one who does not share the nature of the deity can not worship the Deity. Therefore, to attain non-distinction with Him he should meditate upon the deities in his own body.

THE LEGEND OF PṚITHU, A STUDY IN THE PROCESS OF INDIVIDUATION

By

RONALD M. HUNTINGTON

[आदिराजपृथोराख्यानं भागवतपुराणे (स्कन्ध ४, अ० १४-२३) सविस्तरमुपलभ्यते । वायुपुराणे (अ० ६२) विष्णुपुराणे (अंश १ अ० १३) च पृथुचरितस्य सन्निवेशः प्राप्यते । एषां सर्वेषां मूलं त्वथर्ववेदीयेऽष्टमे काण्डे दशमे सूक्ते उपलभ्यते । तत्र विराजाख्याया धेनोर्दोग्धॄणां मध्ये पृथी वैन्योऽपि श्रूयते । पृथिवी पृथिवीदोहनं च कं विशिष्टार्थं प्रत्याययतीत्यस्य विवेचनम् अमेरिका-देशनिवासिना श्रीहंटिंगटनमहोदयेनात्र कृतम् । पृथोराख्यानस्य एषा व्याख्या प्राध्यापकयुंगमहोदयानां मनोविज्ञानशास्त्रमधिकृत्य प्रस्तुता । पुराणान्तर्गता-ख्यानानाम् अध्ययनाय इयं नवीयसी सरणिः । अत्र 'पृथिवी' 'कामदुघा धेनुः', 'गोमातेत्यादि' शब्दैः या समष्टिरूपा मानसी शक्तिः साऽभिधीयते । इन्द्रश्च मनस्तत्त्वं यद् व्यष्टिरूपं विज्ञानं प्रज्ञानं ज्ञानकर्मेन्द्रियाणि चाधितिष्ठति । पृथुश्च जाग्रदवस्थायां क्रियाशक्तेरधिष्ठाता अहंरूपः मानसतत्त्वविशेषः । पृथुः प्रजाभिः राज्येऽभिषिच्यते, स धर्माणामुपस्थाता शाश्वत्पथिकृत् च भवति, दिव्यवैष्णव-तेजसा तस्य संज्ञानं भवति, स आदिराजसंज्ञां च लभते । तं राजानं प्राप्य पृथिवी स्वस्या दोहनमनुमन्यते । इन्द्रेण सह पृथोः पर्यवस्थापनं भवति, तस्य च विजये सर्वे महीयन्ते ।]

The Myth

When Pṛithu was born full-grown from the lifeless body of the wicked King Vena, the Gandharvas sang, the Siddhas showered the earth with sweet-scented flowers, and the Creator himself, Brahmā, led all the greatest of the gods to the scene with rejoicing. Preparations were begun immediately for the traditional Vedic rites, and the new monarch was enthroned to the delight of the inhabitants of his kingdom and of all the gods, who presented Pṛithu with gifts befitting their respective stations. Despite the modest king's protestations that he was not yet worthy of their eulogies, minstrels glorified him in beautiful phrases, for the auspicious marks on his body showed that he was a part manifestation of Vishṇu, come to restore *dharma* in the world.

On this happy occasion, however, Pṛithu came to know that all was not well in his realm. Those who dwelt in that land were emaciated from lack of food, merely empty shells, "even as trees with fire burning in the hollows of their trunks."[1] Certainly this was through no fault of his; he had just been acclaimed as *rājā*, one who rules with the affection or love (*anu-rāga*) of his people.[2] The web of *karma* in which the new king now found himself bound had been spun over long ages, and its direction had become apparent and inevitable two genera-tions earlier.

Pṛithu's grandfather Aṅga (literally, "the physical body")[3] married Sunīthā, the daughter of Death (*mṛityu*), and the sole issue from that ill-fated marriage was Vena (literally, "anxious-ness, yearning, desire").[4] That Vena was early in life peculiarly attached to his maternal grandfather is explicitly stated, as well as illustrated by stories of his boyhood. Taking up his bow and playing the role of a hunter, he would kill innocent deer in the woods to no purpose. Worse than that, he would violently strangle children of his own age at play. King Aṅga attempted to correct his son by various forms of punishment, but to no avail. Disgusted with his home, the emperor arose one night unobserved and departed. Though Aṅga's ministers and friends were grief-stricken and searched the entire globe, they were unable to find any trace of him. Recognizing the need for a king, the sages reluctantly chose his son Vena to occupy the throne.

His preoccupation with mortality became even more in-tense when Vena became the sovereign. Intoxicated by this new power, the haughty but insecure king issued a proclamation: "You must not perform any sacrifices, or make gifts or pour

1. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 17. 10.

2. So explained in Vāyu Purāṇa 62, though there is no etymological justification. The two terms are derived from different roots.

3. Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1018.

oblations into the sacred fire, O twice-born ones."[5] And when a group of sages approached Vena to counsel him against such foolish and dangerous action, the rash young monarch angrily retorted that as the king, he was the lord of all and the sustainer of the people. No longer was the elixir of immortality (*soma*) to be offered to the gods; Vena was determined that henceforth it should be his. "Therefore worship me, O Brāhmins, through religious rites, and bear offerings to me."[6]

At this the sages decided that Vena was no longer fit to be king, and they killed with their *mantras* that one who had already destroyed himself by his own attitude toward God.[7] Their deed was at best, however only a palliative. They had hardly returned to the River Sarasvatī (i. e., the Goddess of Learning) to resume their meditation when they perceived a great cloud of dust darkening the entire land, which had dried up from lack of life-giving water. The blinding dust was caused by thieves and robbers running in every direction despoiling the kingdom. The unifying influence of a central governor, however bad or inadequate he had been, was no longer present. Anarchy was the result.

Once more the sages had to act, to avoid being themselves choked by the dust arising from the evil forces set free in the unfertile land. Returning to where the dead King Vena lay, they seized him and churned his left arm vigorously.[8] There arose from this action a dwarfish man with exceptionally short limbs, red hair, and "the complexion of a charred stake."

5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 14. 6.

6. *Ibid.*, IV. 14. 28.

7. The specific method of the sages varies. In Vishṇu Purāṇa I. 13 the instrument of death is consecrated blades of *kuśa* grass; in Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 15. 34 it is the tremendous power latent in the sound *ham*. On the latter, cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1946). pp. 49-50.

8. Vāyu Purāṇa 62. 119 states that this was done prior to Vena's death and caused his demise. Other sources read "thigh" for "left arm" (or "left hand"). The writer of the Vāyu account was aware of the significance of the *manus sinistra*.

He bowed low and, being frightened, said to the sages, "What shall I do ?" They said, "Sit down" (*nishīda*), and therefore he became known by the name Nishāda. He took upon himself the terrible sins of Vena even while being born, and thus the wickedness of the dead ruler was extracted. Next the sages grasped Vena's right arm and from this churning was born the mighty and good King Pṛithu upon whom the responsibility now lay to restore life and orderliness to the realm.

Pondering the pitiful plight of his subjects, Pṛithu reasoned that their affliction was due to Earth herself, who had withheld the nourishing food from them. In great anger, he fitted an arrow to his bow and went forth to slay Earth, just as Śiva had with a single arrow pierced the Tripura.[9] Seeing the king thus, Earth assumed the form of a cow and fled from his wrath. Pṛithu, with his arrow still poised, gave chase through all the quarters of the earth, the heavens, sky, and even the underworld. Finally Earth, unable to find refuge anywhere from the king's single-minded pursuit, stopped and addressed him. She began by flattering Pṛithu with sweet phrases, appealing to his knowledge of *dharma*, his graciousness and his kindness, and then concluded : "If you destroy me, an undecaying boat on which the entire universe rests, how could you support yourself and all these created beings on the surface of waters ?"[10]

The response was a restatement of the original intention to kill Earth, but now the tone and the identity of the speaker seem to have subtly changed. For as the reply ended—"I shall support the creatures by the sheer strength of my yogic power"--Earth was seized with great trembling and terror, and bowed reverently with folded hands. "Glory to the Supreme person (*purusha*)...by whom I have been created," she said submissively,

9. *Vid.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa VII.10 for one version of this famous legend. Śiva Tripurāntaka is the subject of a magnificent sculptured scene in Cave XV at Elūra ; the same story is depicted a little less dramatically in a relief in Cave XVI, the famous Kailāsa Temple

10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 17. 21.

recognizing that her assailant was not merely the earthly king but the Lord Himself acting through Pṛithu.[11]

After a lengthy eulogy of that Transcendent Self which had been revealed to her, Earth once more addresses King Pṛithu, but in the light of that revelation. She humbly suggests that the ancient sages discovered and tested the methods for realization of human goals, and that anyone foolishly attempting to accomplish his purpose more quickly by an alternative way is foredoomed to failure. She explains that the nourishing food had been withheld since it was being misused by impious persons who had not undertaken any religious vows. Earth had devoured the food to save it from complete annihilation. "O thou hero with strong arms,...select a proper calf, a fit milk-pail, and one to draw the milk. Then full of love for the calf, I will provide for you in the form of sweet milk the nourishing food desired by living beings. O powerful king, remove my ruggedness and make me level (*sama*),[12] so that I may produce milk, the source of all vegetation, equally all around."[13]

Taking for his calf Svāyambhuva Manu, the first son of the Creator Brahmā, and using his own palms as the milk-pail, Pṛithu received from Earth all the *oshadhis* (medicinal herbs; also, annual plants which die after becoming ripe). After him all other created beings—sages, gods, demons, serpents, even trees and mountains—each group bringing its distinctive calf and milk-pail, drew from the cow milk in the form of the primary

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11. This seems to be the only possible interpretation of IV. 17. 28-36 which both maintains fidelity to the actual text and at the same time provides a basis for understanding the important attitudinal changes that take place at this climactic moment in Earth and, subsequently, Pṛithu. According to this theory, Pṛithu's self (ego) is temporarily displaced in 22-27 by the greater Self.

12. Cf. Bhagavad Gitā 2.48 *et passim*, where *samatva* (equanimity, even-mindedness) is a key concept. From this perspective, "ruggedness" may be interpreted as imbalance of the Psychic forces.

13. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 18. 9-11 ; Vishṇu Purāṇa I 13, 39.

objects of their desires,[14] for "Earth is a wish-fulfilling cow" (*kāmadughā*).[15]

King Pṛithu now used his bow for constructive purposes,[16] uprooting or crushing mountains with it, and mostly levelling (*sama*) the surface of the whole earth.[17] Thus he was reconciled with Earth, who had been transformed into a *kāmadughā*, and full of delight and parental love, he addressed her as his daughter (*pṛithivī*).[18]

Before the advent of Pṛithu, people had no conception of different kinds of dwellings. Villages, hamlets, and other cooperative communities of a semi-autonomous nature were completely unknown to them. The ruler was able to effect a new unity in diversity by planning and building habitations

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14. The symbolic significance of the calf and milk-pail brought by each category of creatures, and the product of Earth received by each, is interesting in itsself, but tangent to the development of the main theme.

15. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 18.26 ; cf. 18.28 and 19.7. The *kāmadughā* of this legend is psychologically the equivalent of the desire-satisfying "cow of plenty," Kāmadhenu, produced at the time of the churning of tha Ocean of Milk ; cf. Matsya Purāṇa 248-50, Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII. 9 1, and many other sources.

16. On the symbolism of the bow, cf. Muṇḍaka Upanishad II. 2. 3-4 ;

धनुर्गृहीत्वौपनिषदं महास्त्रं शरं ह्युपासानिशितं सन्धयीत ।
आयम्य तद्भावगतेन चेतसा लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरं सौम्य विद्धि ॥३॥
प्रणवो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ।
अप्रमत्तेन वेद्धव्यं शरवत् तन्मयो भवेत् ॥४॥

Taking as the bow the Upanishad, the great weapon,
fix in it the arrow sharpened by meditation.
Drawing it with a mind filled with That, O fair youth,
penetrate that Imperishable as the target.
The *praṇava* [the mystical syllable *aum*] is the bow ; the arrow is one's self [*ātman*] ; Brahman is spoken of as the target.
That [i. e., Brahman] is to be penetrated with unfaltering aim ; one must become united with That even as the arrow [is united with its target].

17. In Vishṇu Purāṇa I. 13.31, this feat precedes the milking. It is clear from a psychological point of view that the "milking of the cow" and the "levelling of the earth" must proceed simultaneously for either to be fully effective.

18. I. e., since she had been "brought to life" by him. The reference is not merely etiological.

of every kind over the entire earth for all the subjects of his realm, and everything was done "with due regard for propriety." He even taught the inhabitants how to dig mines for themselves. Within this orderly arrangement they began to live comfortably in peace, prosperity, and security.[19]

To capitalize upon the advances made thus far one further thing was needful, and to this the monarch next turned his attention. He consecrated himself at the bank of the Sarasvatī River in preparation for the performance of one hundred horse-sacrifices (*hayamedha*, ; the same as *aśvamedha*) to set the seal upon his conquest of chaos and restoration of productivity in his kingdom. As the festivities progressed in grandeur and intensity, Indra became increasingly jealous, for he realized that they would obscure his own position and achievements.[20] Accordingly, he began to put obstacles in the way of the ceremonies and, when this tactic did not suffice to curtail the rites, he stole the sacrificial animal at the final *aśvamedha*, himself remaining invisible to the people. The sage Atri, however, detected Indra hastening through the sky and urged Pṛithu's son to kill him.[21] When the young warrior took up the chase, Indra assumed a disguise of matted locks and was all covered with ashes, and the prince mistook him for piety incarnate and withheld his arrow. Again Atri

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19. The legend of Pṛithu as found in the Vishṇu Purāṇa concludes on this note.

20. From earliest Vedic record, Indra represents conscious mind-power. He is the ruler of the *indriyas*, or the five sensory organs. Sometimes a further differentiation is made, with these five organs (*jñānendriyāṇi*) being accompanied by the five organs of actions (*karmendriyāṇi*)—larynx, hand, foot, anus, and genitals. There are important parallels in the Hebrew Yahweh and the Greco-Roman Zeus-Jupiter.

21. Atri ("devourer"; Ṛig Veda II. 8.5) was the father of Soma and thus progenitor of the lunar race. In the present legend he functions as a sublimated manifestation of the Kali-aspect of the unconscious. To outward appearances the friend of the hero, the "wise old man" of tradition, in reality he wishes the destruction of consciousness and the return of the hero to the all-embraciug, and therefore life-strangling, realm of the Mother. It is interesting to observe that he does not approach Pṛithu directly, but works through the king's beloved son,

prevailed upon him, and this time Indra disappeared from the youth's view, leaving the horse behind him. Pṛithu's son returned the animal to the sacrificial grounds, and was from that time known as Vijitāśva, "the conqueror, or controller of the horse."

Even yet Indra had no intention of permitting the hundredth *aśvamedha* to be consummated successfully and, under cover of a thick darkness which he created, again stole the horse. Since he was unable to break the golden chain with which it had been secured to the sacrificial post, he had to carry these along as well. Again Atri saw Indra and directed Pṛithu's son to go after him. The hero hesitated, however, for Indra held prominently in his hand a human skull (*kapāla*) and a *khaṭvāṅga* (a type of club, considered to be the weapon of Śiva the destroyer). At the insistent urging of Atri, Vijitāśva discharged an arrow in violent rage. Indra thereupon gave up the horse and his form and stood hidden in his heaven (*svar*, the "realm of light"), while the son of Pṛithu again returned to his father's sacrifice with the horse.

By now a degree of dissension was developing within the kingdom, as shown by the fact that some of the people affected the garb of Indra.[22] Pṛithu, discovering what had been happening to the sacrificial rites, furiously snatched up an arrow to strike at Indra himself. But the priests[23] prevented his impetuous outburst, saying that they would invoke the presence of Indra with powerful *mantras* and throw him into the sacrificial fire as an oblation. In a fit of rage and indignation, they had just begun their rite when Brahmā suddenly appeared before them. He reminded them that *yajña* (sacrifice) was but another name of the Indra whom they were bent on destroying, and that the gods being worshipped in the sacrifice were all only forms of

22. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 19.23-25 is obviously a clumsy attempt on the part of some later writer to utilize this portion of the Pṛithu legend in fighting a heretical sect. Similarly, the speech of Brahmā has been subject to interpolations in vss. 35-38.

23. *Ṛitvija*, from *ṛita+yaj*. Hence, those in charge of propriety of orderliness in sacrifice.

Indra, who in turn was a manifestation of the Lord Himself. Then the Creator addressed Pṛithu : "It is not fit for you to be angry with the great Indra, who is your second self.[24] He asked the king to consider the harm already done (in the form of disunity) by Indra's interference with the final *aśvamedha* and Pṛithu's insistence on its completion, and suggested that he brood no more over the incident but have due regard for the welfare of the world.

Accepting the advice of Brahmā, Pṛithu desisted from the sacrifice and, by bestowing affection on Indra, effected a truce with him. Once more the kingdom waxed in prosperity, and the gods showered their boons on the valiant and wise king. The Lord Himself appeared with Indra, and the latter, ashamed of his conduct, tendered his apologies and was embraced by Pṛithu. Thus King Pṛithu became the first illustrious sovereign (*ādi-rāja*) over this entire earth and, having established an unequalled reputation, eventually attained to the highest realm.

The Commentary

One invariable trait of a living myth is its susceptibility to interpretation on many different levels. The present story, for example, may be meaningfully approached cosmologically as symbolizing the re-creation of the world, in which case it forms a parallel to the most obvious elucidation of the ubiquitous flood legend.[25] Or it may be rendered sociologically as an allegorical representation of the "man of the hour" or, in Toynbee's terminology, the "creative minority" meeting the challenge posed by a particular civilization in crisis. Still another exegesis may be made from a psychological viewpoint, and if the latter is the method followed here, it must not be construed as barring other equally valid renderings.

The legend of Pṛithu relates to that critical phase in the life of the individual which Carl Jung has so often

24. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 19.33.

25. Cf. Suryakanta, *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1950).

characterized as the time of supreme psychological importance—the individuation process. That Pṛithu's unique task as a hero-saviour is to effect a reconciliation and rebirth and thus to become "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" is hinted by his name.[26] Pṛithu comes from a form of the root *prath,* and signifies one who extends, increases, unfolds, discloses, reveals, or gives light.[27] In terms of the microcosm of the psyche, Prithu represents the conscious ego-complex capable of the arduous and dangerous dual process of integration–differentiation which is essential to psychic wholeness, i. e., ultimate realization of the self.

Aṅga is the first "ruler" to be considered. As his name implies (*aṅga,* "the limbs of the body"), he created an imbalance in the psychic forces by giving to consciousness an excessive masculine emphasis upon physical strength, activity, the extraversion of *rajas guṇa.* In youth and early manhood such a pattern is not *per se* unwholesome.

> The man in the first half of life, with its biological orientation, can usually, thanks to the youthfulness of his whole organism, afford to expand his life and make something of it that is generally serviceable.[28]

The compensatory function of the unconscious is revealed in the role of Aṅga's wife, who symbolizes the absolute negation of physical vitality, death, or *tamas guṇa* in its ultimate form. The subservience of the wife, or in other language the relative dormancy of the unconscious, is disturbed by the absence of any change in the ruler as time passes. So in the deep womb of the feminine unconscious an autonomous complex began to develop, eventually being born in the conscious sphere to challenge the one-sidedness of the ego.

26. I Corinthians 15:20. The term *ādi* in Pṛithu's common epithet, *ādirāja*, has in addition to the sense of primary position in time the atemporal connotation of *fons et origo.*

27. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 645-46, 678.

28. C. G. Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928), p. 69.

Aṅga proved impotent against the onslaught of Vena, anxiety, and with his effectiveness as a ruler no longer able to be maintained, disappeared from his central position. At this the sages, who represent human wisdom at its best, reluctantly crowned Vena. It may be regarded as a commonplace to remark at this point that the enthronement of a neurosis prevented complete psychic disintegration and permitted a degree of adaptability and integration, however inadequate and inevitably self-defeating it became in the course of events. Jung's characterization is particularly apt in this regard :

> A neurosis has really come to an end when it has overcome the wrongly oriented ego. The neurosis itself is not healed; it heals us. The man is ill, but the illness is an attempt of nature to heal him. We can therefore learn a great deal for the good of our health from the illness itself, and that which appears to the neurotic person as absolutely to be rejected is just the part which contains the true gold which we should otherwise never have found.[29]

In the light of this analysis, Vena's rejection of sacrifice is the natural and expected consequence. Dying to one's self was exactly the necessity of which he was incapable.

Vena is a vivid picture of *ahaṃkāra* ("I-am-ness") in its most negative and ultimately destructive form, an ego-complex that is unwilling to accept its conditional nature. He is the "I am" intent upon extending itself infinitely into an "I will be," yet cognizant of the temporally limited validity of the assertion, "I was." But the basic anxiety resulting from an awareness of the mortality of the physical body is incapable of functioning for any length of time as a center of integration. Since Vena was already spiritually dead, as the story states, the sages merely brought about his physical death, although

29. C. G. Jung, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Psychotherapie," *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete*, VII (1934). 13, quoted in Jolande Jacobi, *Psychological Reflections* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), p. 85.

with the naive assumption that a cure had been effected and that progress might ensue without any ruler at all.

The grave error in what Jung has labelled the "reductionist" method of therapy became apparent as soon as the sages had retired to their home. "In neurosis psychic energy is present, but undoubtedly it is there in an inferior and unserviceable form."[30] The reductive treatment acted as a solvent of this inferior form and by it was obtained free but neutral energy, without any teleological orientation. "For the neurotic to lose his neurosis is tantamount to losing his object in life, whereby life is robbed of its zest and its meaning."[31]

The dust of utter confusion that covered the land is obviously symbolic of total psychic collapse. There was no potential ruler in the entire realm of consciousness. That the conscious forces were unable of themselves to restore order is shown by the sages' decision to churn the arms of the dead king. They had no idea of the outcome, but could only hope that "the grace of God" might be operative as a result of their active expression of need and total dependence. Yet there seems to exist within consciousness some dim intuitive realization of a distinction between the forces making for wholeness and those producing further fragmentation, for the sages were able to recognize Nishāda as a *tāmasic* evolute, set him to one side, and continue the churning. And the very fact that Nishāda is not immediately destroyed, but is retained in the conscious sphere in an inactive role, is to be taken as testimony that the forces of healing have gained the ascendancy. Nishāda is sent as a test of the sincerity of the conscious desire for healing and willingness to undertake the heroic adventure.

Pṛithu is then given to consciousness as a new creative center. He is, of course, to occupy the position of the ego, but his qualifications for the task ahead are promising. To be

30. C. G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), pp. 46-47.

31. Jung, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Psychotherapie," p. 10, quoted in Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

sure, Pṛithu is from one perspective a direct continuation of the line of Aṅga and Vena, a constellation of those psychic factors which in their particular fusion and utilization had brought only disaster. There must be a continuation of personality; redemption is always a process of transformation, not replacement, of the existent psyche. But Pṛithu, the son of Vena, is significantly also informed by the Divine. He is, in the terms of the myth, a "part manifestation of Vishṇu". That is, the ego now contains an additional element which was formerly lacking, the vision or seed of psychic wholeness. In still another frame of reference, if Nishāda represents *tamas guṇa*, Pṛithu is to be understood as an incarnation of *rajas guṇa* with the essential stabilizing influence of *sattva* added.[32]

The task assigned to Pṛithu is cast in the traditional heroic mould.[33] He must take upon himself the work of a re-creation of the universe, an ordering of chaos parallel to that primal creation which took place in the eternal beginning. He is to be the agent of the birth ἀνόθεν (i.e., again *and* from above). To be worthy of the crown of success, he must meet and effect a working relationship with the Mother and the Father, represented respectively by the Earth-cow and Indra.

The first phase of necessary activity for Pṛithu involves a counteracting of the libido-regression which has produced starvation of the conscious faculties. Only then will sufficient psychic energy be made available to essay the still more difficult missions ahead. For the beginning of the attack to release the dammed-up energy the hero has to muster every bit of energy still under conscious control to a single sharp point. Whether Pṛithu's arrow be interpreted in a traditional Hindu manner as the symbolic result of concentrated meditation or from the point of view of depth psychology, its meaning is ultimately the same.[34] In the latter orientation, the arrow is symbolic

32. In the Divine Trinity, Vishṇu, the Preserver, represents *sattva guṇa*. *vid.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 2. 23.

33. Cf. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949), 416 pp.; especially pp. 97-171.

34. *Vid. supra*, fn. 16.

of the male organ, and the feminine must be fertilized so that offspring may result.[35]

In this connection the significance of Pṛithu's son in the later development of the legend becomes apparent. He represents the offspring of the union between Pṛithu, the ruling complex of the conscious mind, and the Earth-cow, the feminine unconscious in its creative aspect. The son does not, however, represent the total integration of the "Wonderful Boy" or "Child-Savior" archetype, since it is the ego rather than the Father-God imago to whom he traces his paternity.[36] Thus he almost brings Pṛithu to destruction by shooting his arrow at Indra, though unbidden by Pṛithu to take such a role. The son in this instance represents the seed of rebellion, the Luciferian element in the non-ego realm of consciousness. His unsuccessfulness in the attack upon Indra is on the surface apparently due to one of two reasons: (1) his own trembling from emotional rage, making the sharp point concentration go amiss, or (2) Indra's extreme agility and elusiveness (i.e., the "grace of God"). But the battle is not in the last analysis for the son to fight, but rather for his father, the ruler. Only the father has the arrow strong enough to do the job, and for this reason Brahmā does not order Pṛithu, but requests him to desist, pointing out that the destruction of the power of the conscious mind would be the inevitable result of ill-advised hostility. Indra, the master of the *indriyas* needs to become a cooperating partner, not to be destroyed.

When Pṛithu aimed his arrow at the Earth, she took the form of a cow and tried to elude him. The scene is a dramatic illustration of the ambivalence of the Great Mother, a theme which has been given full expression in Hindu conceptions of

35 Note that the conscious mind, as compared to the unconscious, is always masculine. On arrow-symbolism, *vid.* C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1936), pp. 288-92.

36. *Vid.* C. G. Jung and C. Kerényi, '*Essays on a Science of Mythology*' (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949), "Psychology of the Child-Archetype," pp. 97-119. Cf. Ṛig Veda VI, 70.3:

प्र प्रजाभिर्जायते धर्मणस्परि ।

the Goddess, and which is developed as the episode of Pṛithu and the Earth-cow progresses. Although trying to escape from the king, Earth does so under the outward aspect of that suggestive Vedic symbol of docility and willing providence, the all-nourishing *gomātā* (mother cow).[37] She is here woman as the arch-temptress, the bewitching object and potential fulfiller of all desires (*kāmadhenu*).

Pṛithu was persistent in his pursuit, and even when the cow stopped he stood unflinching with his arrow poised through her empty flattery and seductive entreaties. Perceiving the sincerity and the power of her adversary, she suddenly became conciliatory and suggested the means whereby the nourishing flow of milk might be reactivated. The calves that had to be brought to stimulate the love of the cow represent, of course powerful archetypal images through which each aspect of the conscious mind could receive the requisite psychic energy in various serviceable forms. For instance, Pṛithu's "calf" was Svāyambhuva Manu, the progenitor of the species of mankind, his "milk-pail" was his own hands, symbolizing acceptance of the conditional state of humanity, and the "milk" was received in the form of curative plants which had to be put to immediate use lest they decay (*oshadhis*). The sages brought Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, and received the holy Veda in the organs of hearing, speech, and mind. The carnivorous beasts received flesh for milk in the pail of their body, using the lion, the king of beasts, as the calf, and so on.

Again the theme of ambivalence is stressed. Earth had withheld the energy from all, and now all are represented at the milking, not only those creatures regarded as morally good

37. Cf. Hathor, the cow-mother in Egyptian mythology. One of the many approaches to Vedic cow-symbolism is fully treated in Sri Aurobindo, *On the Veda* (Pondicherry : Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1956), pp. 51-52 *et passim*. For a detailed analysis of the "Great Mother" archetype in the various mythological traditions of the world, *vid.* Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955).

but the apparently destructive forces as well.[38] "Holiness is wholeness," as Josef Goldbrunner has perceptively stated,[39] and the path of becoming which leads to integration consists in progressive recognition of and identification with the paradoxical qualities of the human psyche (i. e., reality), rather than their denial and consequent projection. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar arrives at the same conclusion :

> One of the greatest lessons that the Epics and the Purāṇas teach us is the composite character of human nature. They bring to us the fundamental thought that man is composed of good and evil elements and that not even the greatest is exempt from this alloy.[40]

With the renewal of creative harmony between the unconscious and the ego and the restoration of libido to the conscious sphere, the work of revivification was able to proceed. Pṛithu excised or reduced to proper dimensions those forces which were productive of excessive conscious imbalances and inhibited the even distribution of psychic energy.[41] The building of villages and dwellings is symbolic of a functional diversity within the over-all unity provided by a single ruler. It is interesting to observe that the process of establishing order included the granting of a sizable degree of autonomy to the subjects. The *ādirāja* having functioned as the "once-for-all" pathfinder, he taught the people how to dig their own mines, that is, how to gain direct access to the life-giving energies of the unconscious for themselves.

The Pṛithu legend in the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas concludes with the milking of the Earth-cow. Their version,

38. Cf. Matthew 5:45 : "For he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust."

39. Josef Goldbrunner, *Holiness is Wholeness* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1955).

40. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, "Some Thoughts on the Purāṇas," *Prabuddha Bharata*, LVIII (February, 1953), 89.

41. Cf. Isaiah 40 : 4 : "Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low ; the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain."

differing only in minor details from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa account to this point, may well represent an earlier form of the story.[42] A still earlier, perhaps the original, nucleus of the episode of the milking of the Earth is traceable in the Atharva Veda (VIII. 10), where the cow is called Virāj and Pṛithī Vainya (son of Vena) is the third of eight who draw her milk. Prior to the Atharva Veda, the name of Pṛithu, son of Vena, is mentioned in Ṛig Veda VIII. 9.10, and Ṛig Veda X.148 is attributed to him. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V. 3. 5. 4) contains a characterization of Pṛithu as the "first anointed king," equivalent to the *ādirāja* epithet in the Purāṇic versions. The latter three references prove by their very brevity and lack of detail that the king was a well-known figure from earliest literary times, but there is no way of determining in what form the present legend was associated with him, if at all.

However the legend may have evolved, from a psychological viewpoint it is clear that its continuation in the performance of the *aśvamedhas* and the meeting with Indra is justifiable, meaningful, and even essential. Pṛithu has successfully met the first challenge on the path to individuation. But an insidious danger arises at this stage of the developmental process, insidious because it is so "natural" and therefore unrecognized. This is the inescapable peril that Jung has termed "psychic inflation." The new creativity which has come as a result of the encounter with the unconscious is attributed to the cleverness of the conscious self.

For a while a man goes about feeling semi-divine, sure of himself and sure of his way, ready to advise anybody and everybody on what they ought to do. Something comes to puncture his blown-out balloon of self-admiration ; and suddenly he is nothing, less than nothing.........

Seen in retrospect, this running between the opposites of *hubris* and *nemesis* is a highly salutary discipline..... For most

42. The Vāyu Purāṇa is generally conceded to represent very early Purāṇic tradition. Cf. Devendrakumar Rajaram Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona : Deccan College, 1946), pp. 3, 134-35, 162-63.

people it is the only way of coming to a fundamental realization, absolutely necessary to wholeness, *viz.* that a man cannot create himself; he can only be created: and without the creative process is nothing.[43]

This is the lesson which must still be learned by Pṛithu. He has not yet effected a reconciliation with the gods; Earth has become a partner, but not the Heavens. To become fully human, Pṛithu must recognize not only the grandeur but also the misery of man.

After the process of differentiation had been virtually completed, the people of the land began to live in prosperity, and Pṛithu consecrated himself for the performance of one hundred *aśvamedhas*. The jealousy of Indra was aroused, since that number of sacrifices was his exclusive prerogative as king of the gods.[44] Twice Indra intervened at the final *aśvamedha* and, unknown to Pṛithu, stole the sacrificial horse. And twice Pṛithu's son pursued him and restored the horse to the ceremonial site without, however, effecting any solution of the basic conflict. Fortunately for all, Brahmā intervened before the priests and Pṛithu could make good their threats against Indra, and the rites were curtailed with the hundredth *aśvamedha* remaining unfinished. A subsequent reconciliation was brought about on the initiative of Pṛithu, who bestowed affection on Indra, and the latter in turn apologized for his conduct. As a result, the entire universe flourished in a manner unequalled in former times.

The roles of the various actors in this tense drama need to be clearly delineated in order to arrive at an understanding of its significance. Pṛithu still represents the central power in the individuating psyche. It would be slightly incorrect to refer to him as the ego, since by this time the dissolution (or extension) of the ego has been partially accomplished in

43. P. W. Martin, *Experiment in Depth: a Study of the Work of Jung, Eliot, and Toynbee* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955), p. 211.

44. Vāyu Purāṇa 64, 5–8.

the process of integrating the unconscious forces. Thus he is both less than and more than mere ego, but has manifestly become the victim of a psychic inflation comparable to that which ended more tragically in the parallel Greek myths of Icarus and Phaethon.[45] The ultimate success of Pṛithu is due to the last-minute intervention of Brahmā who as the Creator, consistently represents the wholesome drive toward individuation and progressive unfoldment whenever he appears in the story. Even the priests, who like the sages stand for human wisdom at its best, were misled at the crucial moment into desiring the extinction of Indra, although in contrast to Pṛithu's extreme wrath they seem to represent a return to rationality. But rationality and rationalization are very closely related, and the presence of strong emotion is sufficient to transform the first imperceptibly into the second. Murder received a self-delusory approval when it could be regarded as "justifiable homicide."

It has already been intimated that Pṛithu's son is indicative of the beginnings of a split in the psychic integrity. Despite the progressive achievements of his father, he obviously remained altogether too much under the influence of his mother, the Unconscious, or he would have been able to detect the single flaw in Atri as an adviser in the present instance. Atri was, of course, renowned from Vedic times as a great ṛishi, author of many hymns in praise of the gods, father of Soma and son of Brahmā. But when the sacrificial horse was stolen, Atri alone was able to see Indra "under cover of a thick darkness", a certain cue to his alignment as a "son of darkness" in this particular stage of the spiritual path. If Atri's way had prevailed, the unstable and hard-won partial selfhood represented by Pṛithu, bereft of its strongest ally against the

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45. Icarus, it will be remembered, tried to fly to the sun on man-made wings. His foolhardy attempt to conquer the heavens ended in his falling into the waters. Phaethon was totally unable to control the powers of the sun, and would have set the universe on fire had not Zeus slain him with a thunderbolt.

Unconscious, would eventually have been swallowed up in that dark, all-engulfing chasm.

But what of the strange part played by Indra in this legend ? Is there any justification for what appears at first reading to be the infantile behavior of a jealous and powerful miscreant ? Within the limits of this paper the answer can only be summarized, for a full discussion would necessitate a detailed examination of the entire complex development of the concept of Indra, from Vedic times to the numerous Purāṇic stories in which he figures prominently. There is a strand of continuity throughout, however, and it provides the key to his role in the legend of Pṛithu. From the hard-fighting soma-quaffing, vigorours deity of the Ṛig Vedic hymns to the blustering, sometimes arrogant or conceited, yet always courageous king of the gods in the Purāṇas, the invariable emphasis is upon extraverted masculinity. He represents all those qualities which are traditionally most prized in men—physical strength, bravery, self-reliance, ambition—developed to their symbolic utmost.

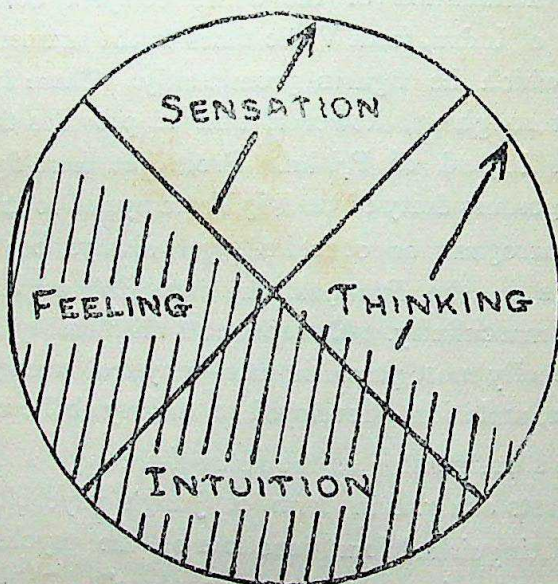
Indra's designation as the ruler of the organs of sense and action suggests analysis in term of Jung's psychological types. Jung has distinguished four functions of the psyche—Sensation (establishes "the fact something is there"), Thinking ("gives the interpretation of that which is perceived"), Feeling ("establishes the value of the object"), and Intuition (the "immediate awareness of relationships").[46]

> By psychological function I understand a certain form of psychic activity that remains theoretically the same under varying circumstances. From the energic standpoint a function is a phenomenal form of libido which theoretically remains constant in much the same way as physical force can be considered as the form or momentary manifestation of physical energy.[47]

46. The definitions of the four functions are from C. G. Jung, "Psychological Factors Determining Human Behaviour" *Factors Determining Human Behavior* (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 60-61.

47. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1923) p. 547.

As a matter of experience and observation Jung postulates a compensatory relationship between pairs of functions, and further submits that in each idividual a primary and a secondary function will be emphasized. Their opposite and complementary functions will tend to be relegated to the unconscious.[48]

In the case of Indra, the following diagram is enlightening.[49]

The strong outgoing emphasis on sensation, coupled with a secondary thinking function, relegates to the unconscious the feeling and intuitional functions. Morality is basically an exercise of the function of feeling, as Jung defines the term, since moral judgments have to do with values, and values are undeterminable by the use of the thinking or sensation functions alone. For his mastery over the organs of sense and action, therefore, Indra must pay in the form of diminished moral sensitivity. The amount of libido available in the human psyche being limited, over-development in one area inevitably produces under-development in another. And insofar as Indra identifies totally with the masculine conscious functions, a

48. Individuation may be defined from this viewpoint as the conscious integration and balancing of the activities of the four functions.

49. Adapted from Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

conclusion suggested not only by his own activity but by the relative unimportance in mythology of his feminine counterpart (i. e., his wife Indrāṇī), the unrecognized compensatory functions in the feminine unconscious must either be projected into the environment or, more characteristically, erupt in sudden "irrational" outbursts.

The foregoing anlysis of Indra's personality discloses his similarity to Yahweh, the Old Testament god, in the Biblical story of Job.

> The character thus revealed fits a personality who can only convince himself that he exits through his relation to an object. Such dependence on the object is absolute when the subject is totally lacking in self-reflection and therefore has no insight into himself. It is as if he existed only by reason of the fact that he has an object which assures him that he is really there.[50]

It is assuredly no coincidence that Indra is the recipient of more than 250 Ṛig Vedic hymns, a number exceeded only by those in praise of Agni. He needs constant praise and propitiation to reassure him of his own greatness and importance to others, and in order to dispel that subtle and Satanic seed of doubt within him, resulting from the violence done to the unconscious functions and memories of the sometimes unfortunate effects of past fits of jealousy or temper. In short, Indra's apparent irrationality or immorality is due to the totally repressed unconscious, the feminine side, for despite the fact that Indra symbolizes conscious mind-power, he often acts impulsively, i. e., without conscious forethought.

Pṛithu can benefit from his fortuitous encounter with Indra for, as a potential victim of psychic inflation, he is desperately in need of exactly what Indra has to offer. The extreme peril to the king at this stage is not the aroused hostility of Indra, but the life-strangling warmth and tender solicitude of the

50. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion : West and East* (New York Pantheon Books, 1958), "Answer to Job," p. 372.

Great Mother. Only a strong and extraverted asseration of conscious mind-power in an endeavor to regain a firm hold on external reality can save him from the deceptively comfortable grip of the unconscious. Although Pṛithu began by resenting Indra and foolishly challenging the god in just the area where the latter excelled, physical strength, he was persuaded by Brahmā to desist from such a fruitless undertaking which could only conclude in self-destruction.

At the same time, Indra can learn from Pṛithu who, once he has renounced his animosity toward the god, represents a keener degree of consciousness based upon self-reflection. Indra has never come to terms with his need for such circumspection, because he has seldom met an insuperable obstacle that would force him to hesitate and hence to turn his energies inward. When the situation has arisen, he has been content to suffer some embarrassment or loss of face, but not to seek the deeper remedy which would make a recurrence impossible. In the final analysis, Pṛithu emerges superior in the precise areas of Indra's greatest weakness, morality and the humility that results from an awareness of one's own limitations and in recognition of this, Indra stooped to touch Pṛithu's feet in apology.

The incomplete final *aśvamedha* stands as mute but eloquent testimony to the human predicament. To live as a created being is inevitably a limitation. Man "must, in order to survive, always be mindful of his impotence."[51] And in order to be most truly man, he must consciously accept his conditional nature. But it may be no distortion of the Purāṇic myth to suggest that the one hundredth *aśvamedha* was symbolically consummated when Pṛithu resigned his earthly existence for the realm of *sachchidānanda*.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

THE ONE RUDRA AND THE MANY

By

V. S. AGRAWALA.

[यजुर्वेदसंहितायां षोडशोध्यायः शतरुद्रियमित्याख्यायते इदमेव मत्स्यपुराणे नमःस्तोत्रमिति नाम्नाऽभिहितम् (अ० ४७, श्लो० १६८)। तत्र च याजुषपाठस्यैवोपबृंहणम् (अ० ४७, श्लो० १२८-१६७)। अस्य व्याख्या द्रोणपर्वणि (पूनासंस्करणे अ० १७३) अपि प्राप्यते। प्राक्सृष्टिकाले एको रुद्रः अव्यक्तरूपः। तस्यैव स्थाणुरिति संज्ञा ('अतिष्ठत् स्थाणुभूतः स सहस्रं परिवत्सरान्' द्रोण० १७३।५६)। पश्चात् सृष्टिदशायां स एको रुद्रः भेदमुपेयिवान्, यस्माद् असंख्यातानि सहस्राणि रुद्राणां समुत्पन्नानि। तान्येव रुद्रगणाः, प्रमथाः, पार्षदाः, रौद्राः पशवो वा कथ्यन्ते। तेषामेव पुराणेषु सिंहा इति वेदेषु च सालावृका इति संज्ञा। स्थाणुरूपः शिव एको यतिः महाश्रमणः; स एव असङ्गरूप ऋषिश्च निवृत्तिपथमारूढः। यतिरूपस्य तस्यैव सृष्टिविधौ देव इत्याख्या जायते। देवेषिता यतय एव सर्गविधौ समर्था भवन्ति। एकस्य बहुधाभाव एवेयं नानारूपा सृष्टिः। तस्मै नमोभावः शतरुद्रियस्य प्रयोजनम्।]

There is One Rudra, no second—says the Veda :

एक एव रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्थे। (तै० सं० १।८।६।१)

The One is called Sthāṇu (स्थाणु), the changeless, eternal, transcendent, beyond time and space. He is the Unmanifest One :

अव्यक्तो लिंगमुच्यते। (Liṅga Purāṇa, I. 3. 1.)

'The unmanifest form is called Liṅga'. [Fig. 1]. He is the cause of the universe, the seed that sprouts as the World-Tree.

The One becomes the Many by His inherent power. In manifestation the One Rudra transforms Himself as the thousand Rudras :

असंख्याताः सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम्।

(Yajurveda 16. 54)

'Innumerable thousands are the Rudras on the face of the earth'. In the vast billowy ocean of Infinity, each centre of

manifestation called Bhava is Rudra embodied. According to the Śiva Mahāpurāṇa, the innumerable Rudras are the Rudra-Gaṇas, representing his mind-born creation (मानसी सृष्टि, वायवीय संहिता, ch. 14). [Fig. 2].

The One Rudra is the Absolute and the Rudra-Gaṇas or Pramathas are his immanent powers. The One Rudra corresponds to the Collective Unconscious and the Pramathas or Gaṇas to the manifold centres of individuation. The One becoming the Many is the true nature of creation. Originally Śakti is one; on the plane of creation she becomes manifold. It is the one Energy that is in the language of Veda called Aditi—the Infinite Mother. She is the embodiment of Continuity, imperishable because space and time cannot modify her existence.

The same Energy (Śakti) becomes fragmented, i. e. Diti, the mother of Asuras, the principle of Discontinuity. She is manifest in each individual centre as Mātṛikā, a Mother representing the generative principle.

Aditi is the mother of the Devas, symbolising the principle of light and immortality. Diti is its opposite principle of darkness, death and disintegration.

The active principle of individuation is symbolised as Daksha. Each generative process is a Yajña of which the presiding genius is Daksha Prajāpati. If Daksha is hostile to Rudra, his yajña is doomed. Without Śiva, Daksha is in the grip of death. Śiva is the cosmic principle of immortality—Amṛitam.

True yajña is the symbol of divinity or Amṛitam. Daksha suffers decapitation at the hands of Rudra. When he propitiates Śiva, he is united to the immortal principle called Aja, the Unborn, symbolically represented as the Aja or Goat's head of Daksha. Aja is the same as Aja Ekapād (अज एकपाद्), the first and foremost of the Eleven Rudras, the single immortal Essence called Ekam (अजस्य रूपे किमपि स्विदेकम्, Ṛigveda I. 164. 6). He is one-footed, i.e. स्थाणु, the principle of *sthiti* or stasis. पाद or foot means motion.

एकपाद् signifies the absence of all motion or centrifugal forces, i.e. the locking of all forces in the centre, or the absence of extrovert movement. Rudra as अजैकपाद् देव is स्थाणु, the Motionless One. By means of the Tāṇḍava dance He releases the vortex of motion and becomes the Many. [Fig. 3]. In the words of the Liṅga Purāṇa (I. 106. 25-26) the dance is the ambrosial potion which Divine Lord Śiva releases for His consort, Devī Umā or Śakti.

Rudra as one of the great gods is called Mahādeva the Supreme Deity, and identified with Agni. He is also Indra, and the Sun, conceived of as an aspect of Agni in heaven. In the cosmogony of the Veda and the Purāṇas the Waters are fecundated by the seed of Agni or Rudra : आपो गर्भं यस्य शुभ्रं धरित्र्यः। (Hariv. II. 72. 30). Agni is frequently referred to in the Ṛigveda as अपां गर्भः (ṚV. III. 5. 3). The Vaiśvānara Agni has entered the womb of Waters :

वैश्वानरो यास्वग्निः प्रविष्टस्ता आपो देवीरिह मामवन्तु ।
(ऋ० ७।४९।४)

Speaking of Viśvakarmā Prajāpati, it is said in the Ṛigveda :

परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्या परो देवेभिरसुरैर्यदस्ति ।
कं स्विद् गर्भं प्रथमं दध्र आपो यत्र देवाः समपश्यन्त विश्वे ॥
(ऋ० १०।८२।५)

'That which is earlier than this earth and heaven, before the Asuras and Gods had being,—What was the germ primeval which the waters received where all the Gods were seen together'. (Griffiths)

The Waters here represent the principle of Virāj, also called Parameshṭhī, the same as Ṛita (ऋतमेव परमेष्ठि, तै०ब्रा० १।५।१।१), and Mahat of the Gītā (मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म, १४।३). It is the पारमेष्ठ्य सोम or the Universal substratum of Primordial matter (प्रधान प्रकृति) that is quickened into creative activity by the seed of Svayambhū Prajāpati. Svayambhū is Agni, the Father depositing his seed in the Parameshṭhī, the Universal, spoken of as the Mother. They typify the Cosmic Parents. स्वयम्भू is अग्नि and परमेष्ठी is

सोम, the latter represents the Infinite Ocean of Energy (समुद्र) which remains in equanimity in the beginning, but becomes quickened by the seed of the self-existent Creater into universal creation (भुवनस्य रेतः). The two generative Principles अग्नि and सोम bear several other names :

1.	अग्नि	सोम	2.	स्वयम्भू	परमेष्ठी
3.	सत्य	ऋत	4.	पिता	माता
5.	द्यौः	पृथिवी	6.	रेतस्	योनि
7.	तपस्	समुद्र	8.	गर्भ	आपः
9.	बीजप्रदपिता	महद्ब्रह्म	10.	पुरुष	प्रकृति
11.	रुद्र-शिव	उमा-पार्वती	12.	वृषा-नर	योषा-नारी
13.	आभु	तुच्छय (अभ्व)	14.	अंगिरस्	भृगु

Manifesting in the above dual aspects, they possess a common womb and unite to beget the Babe or Boy that is called the Prāṇa or Vaiśvānara. The Mahābhārata gives a clear exposition of this symbolism.

अग्नीषोमौ कथं पूर्वमेकयोनी प्रवर्त्तितौ ।

(शान्ति पर्व, अ० ३२९।१)

In reply to this, it is said there :

तम एव पुरस्ताद् अभवद् विश्वरूपम् ।
सा विश्वस्य जननीत्येवमस्यार्थोऽनुभाष्यते ।
तस्येदानीं तमःसंभवस्य पुरुषस्य...नेत्राभ्यामग्नीषोमौ ससर्ज ।
ततो भूतसर्गे प्रवृत्ते प्रजाक्रमवशाद् ब्रह्मक्षत्रमुपातिष्ठत् ।
यः सोमस्तद् ब्रह्म...योऽग्निस्तत् क्षत्रम् । स चाग्निर्ब्रह्म ।

(शान्तिपर्व, मोक्षधर्म, ३२९।१४-६)

In the *ante principium* stage both Father-Agni & Mother-Soma, act as a single pair ; both are referred to as तमस्—

तम आसीत्तमसा गूढमग्रेऽप्रकेतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम् ।
तुच्छेयनाभ्वपिहितं यदासीत् तपसस्तन्महिनाजायतैकम् ॥

नासदीयसूक्त, ऋ० १०।१२९।३

In the beginning there was Darkness (i.e. Svayambhū, the Father Principle), concealed by Darkness (i.e. Parameshṭhī, the Mother Principle). This universe (इदं सर्वम्) stood as an indiscriminate Chaos (सलिल). The vast creative principle (आभु) was enveloped by formless void (तुच्छ्य). Then through the might of Tapas was produced the principle of Iudividual Manifestation (एकम्)'.

The principle of सलिलं is the same as आपः, variously called समुद्र, सोम, ऋत, and परमेष्ठी. It is primordial Matter, the unformed void. The principle of Tapas, Heat or Agni first makes its appearance on the substratum of that nebulous mass and itself becomes the seed to quicken or impregnate it for cosmic creation. This gives birth to centres of individual manifestation, Such points of individuation are referred to as *Ekam* or *Manas*—the Individual Mind—, the first mental or conscious construct of the universe. This controls a vortex of energy and begins to regulate a determined mass of matter.

This integrated system of manifestation is termed as *Yajña*, which comprises in a unified and conjoint manner the Trinitarian principle of manifestation, diversely enunciated as मन-प्राण-वाक्, अग्नि-इन्द्र-सोम, ऋक्-यजु-साम, अव्यय-अक्षर-क्षर, पर-परावर-अवर, स्वयम्भू-सूर्य-पृथिवी, etc.

In the language of science we designate it as the Potential, the Kinetic, the Thermal—the three forms of one and the same primal Energy. Energy is Warmth or Temperature, which is called *Tapas* or *Agni*. Its first manifestation is witnessed against the substratum of सोम or आपः—

अग्ने अपां समिध्यसे दुरोणे नित्यः सूनो सहसः जातवेदः । (ऋ० ३।२५।५)

'In the Flood's home, art thou enkindled, Agni Jātavedas, the eternal Son of Energy' (Rv. III. 25. 5). The principle of the Primal Flood (Soma or Āpaḥ) is spoken of as the Mother (अम्बा, अम्बिका, जनित्री, माता) and Agni is called अपां गर्भः, the Child of the Flood, a favourite epithet in the Ṛigveda, which is borrowed in the Purāṇas, in the form of varying symbols.

In the case of Śiva, the symbol of आपः or सोम is उमा पार्वती, and the composite form of अर्धनारीश्वर is the same as that of अग्नीषोमौ, both representing a single progenitive principle (एकयोनी) as stated in the Śāntiparvan. In order to understand the full symbolism of Agni, we should remember fhe following equation :

अग्नि = ब्रह्म = सूर्य = रुद्र = अक्षर

The characteristic feature of each is movement, pulsation, activity, i. e. प्राणन-अपानन or समंचन-प्रसारण, the dynamic rhythm of expansion and contraction.

Rudra-Śiva as Yati

The Harivaṁśa II. 72, 3 refers to an important Vedic symbolism, viz. the principle of Yati and the Sālāvṛikas :

शालावृकान्यो यतिरूपो निजघ्ने दत्तानिन्द्रेण प्रणुदो हितानाम् ।

Who is the archetypal single Yati, and who constitute his retinue of numerous Yatis ? Who are Sālāvṛikas and why are they so named ? What is the significance of the Yatis with respect to Indra and Rudra ? These queries have a bearing on an ancient cosmogonic myth of the Ṛigveda :

त्वमिन्द्र सालावृकान्त्सहस्रमासन् दधिषे अश्विना ववृत्याः ।

(ऋ० १०।७३।३)

'Thousand hyenas in thy mouth thou holdest, O Indra. Mayest thou turn the Asivins hither'.

The Indra and the Sālāvṛika motif is repeated in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, VI 2.7.5; Atharvaveda, II.27.5; Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, VIII.1.4, XIII.4.17, XIV.11.28. XVIII.1.9, XIX.4.7; and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII.28. Esoterically it refers to the Self-existent One and the manifestation of the many from that One, to the undifferentiated Ocean of Infinity and its endless fragmentation on the plane of creational activity. Each Sālāvṛika is a lopped off morsel of life-energy (Prāṇa), i.e. an individual unit of discontinuity.

Śiva is the great Yati or Yogī, the lord of ascetics (यतिरूपः), the same as एकर्षि and यम of the Yajurveda (40, 16,

Fig. 1 (p. 211)

एको रुद्रः स्थाणुरूपः

Rudra in Unmanifest Linga Foım

Gupta period, circa 400 A. D.

A stone sculpture found in Central India.

—Collection Pupul Jayakar, Bombay

Fig. 2 (p. 212)

असंख्याता रुद्राः

A Rudra-Gaṇa, as one of the Innumerable Rudras

Date, Provenance & Collection as of Fig. 1.

Fig. 3 (p. 213)

चतुर्भुजी शिवताण्डवमूर्तिः

Śiva performing the Tāṇḍava Dance

Time, Provenance and Collection as of Fig. 1.

Kāṇva recension, Īśa Upanishad). The resplendant Sun in the heavens is the archetypal Yogī or Yati, with his space-encompassing mass of matted-locks in the form of tawny rays (व्योमकेश, पिंगलजट). This Yama (Yati, Yogī) is the regulating principle for the evolution of the ordered cosmos; it is the emergence of the system from out of the disorderly nebulous mass preceding it. It is the first settling of the principle of Yajña, the world of Devas against the dark region of the Asuras. The Asuras represent the riotous forces which leap and dart in the primeval ocean of disrupted energy. Āsuric forces are also symbolically spoken of as Vṛitra Ahi, the hissing vipers loosening and stretching out their coiled masses as creation takes place. Regular creation is preceded by an elemental struggle between angelic and titanic powers, interlocked with each other, and out of their cosmic convulsion emerges finally the triumphant procession of the etherial forces, the Devas, over the chthonic dark powers called the Asuras.

Against the background of the primeval violent movements of disorder, what the Purāṇa writers call क्षोभ or मन्थन, that which is thrown up as the focal point of orderly motion is the Sun-सूर्य, also called इन्द्र and रुद्र. (अत्रा समुद्र आगूढं सूर्यमजभर्तन Ṛigveda X.72.7). Sūrya is verily the perfection of creational activity and of Nature's æsthetic endeavour (कल्याणतम तेजस्):

पूषन्नेकर्षे यम सूर्य प्राजापत्य व्यूह रश्मीन् समूह तेजो
यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि ।
योऽसावसौ पुरुषः सोऽहमस्मि । (ईश उ० १६)

The Sun is the offspring of Prajāpati, the Nourisher (Pūshā), the Supreme Ṛishi or Yati, the over-all Controller (Yama). The expansion and contraction of his rays is his rhythm, his fairest form to behold.

'He' is the cosmic person and 'I' am the individual—we both belong to the same Akshara, or the principle of cosmising pulsation.

Sūrya is the same as Indra (cf. द्यौरिन्द्रेण गर्भिणी ; इन्द्रः सूर्यमरोचयत्, ऋ० ८।३।६). Indra and Indrāṇī are said to be the two aspects of one Person, the former symbolised in the right eye and his consort in the left. They are the positive and negative, the cathode and anode of a single life-function (Maitrī Up. VII. 11). इन्द्र-इन्द्राणी pair of the Veda is the same as रुद्र-रुद्राणी in the Purāṇas ; both are equivalent to अग्नीषोम. Rudra is Agni and Rudrāṇī is Soma ;

अहमग्निर्महातेजाः सोमश्चैषा महाम्बिका ।
अहमग्निश्च सोमश्च प्रकृत्या पुरुषः स्वयम् ॥

(लिंग पु० १।३४।७).

Also—

अग्निरित्युच्यते रौद्री घोरा या तैजसी तनुः ।
सोमः शाक्तोऽमृतमयः शक्तेः शान्तिकरी तनुः ॥

(शिवमहापुराण, वायवीयसंहिता २८।३)

As stated in the मोक्षधर्म पर्व—

अपि हि पुराणे भवति। एकयोन्यात्मकावग्नीषोमौ। देवाश्चाग्निमुखा इति। एकयोनित्वाच्च परस्परं महयन्तो लोकान् धारयत इति ।

(शान्तिपर्व ३२८।५)

Agni is of terrific nature (*raudra, ghora*) when it repels Soma, as in the case of Rudra estranged from Satī. Agni-Rudra is then an aspect of death (*Mṛityu, Kāla*). The plant in the grip of death, even if watered, does not retain its life-sap. But Agni becomes life-giving and bestower of immortality (*amṛitamaya*) when it is reconciled to Soma. Śiva wedded to Pārvati becomes androgynous (अर्धनारीनरवपुः). Rudra and Satī repel; Śiva and Pārvati attract each other.

Agni as Sūrya, Rudra and Indra represents the principle of Yama, the focus round which Life spins out in an ever-expanding vortex ; it is the सप्ततन्तु यज्ञ measuring out its web.

THE YATIS

Śiva has two aspects—He is One and the Many. As One, He is एको रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्थे. As many, He is a hundred-

thousand Rudras (असंख्याता सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम्). As the One Supreme Ascetic, He is fixed and changeless (स्थाणु), i. e. beyond all the modifications of time and space. As such he is unmanifest and does not create. For creation, the One Yati transforms himself into many :

यद्देवा अदः सलिले सुसंरब्धा अतिष्ठत। अत्रा वो नृत्यतामिव तीव्रो रेणुरजायत

(RV. X. 72. 6)

यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत। अत्रा समुद्र आगूह्लमा सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥

(RV. X. 72. 7)

Each universe (भुवन) is the mass formed by the spinning and dancing movement of the Yati-like Devas or the Divine Asceties. This dance is performed on the surface of the primeval ocean ; out of the dance they discover the Sun. The controlling principle in the formation of the worlds is इन्द्र or सूर्य, the Supreme God, and Rudra the Supreme Yati :

इन्द्रे ह विश्वा भुवनानि येमिरे । (RV. VIII. 3. 6).

The Cosmic powers, the Devas, dance like the whirling Yatis and bring forth the Sun. It is the dance of Yogī Śiva, his Tāṇḍava with the whole team of Rudras, Gaṇas and Pramathas (लिंग पु० १।१०६।२५). He who is One Rudra manifests as the team of Eleven Rudras (एकादश रुद्राः) for creative activity. As One He is Unborn (Aja) with one foot, called अजैकपाद्. The One-footed Deity is truly स्थाणु, that which exists without movement :

अजस्य रूपे किमपि स्विदेकम् । (Rv. I. 164. 6)

Indra has his troop of the Seven Maruts, Rudra of Eleven Rudras and Sūrya of Twelve Ādityas. Each constitutes a Gaṇa moving in tune with its chief. These are the Yatis, the 'ascetic hordes' who play an essential part in the *ropertoire* of creational symbolism. The Yatis were mythologically believed to be 'an ancient race of ascetics connected with the Bhṛigus, and, according to one legend, said to have taken part in the creation of the world' (Griffith, Ṛigveda, VIII, 3. 9, f.n.). The birth of the Eleven Rudras and from them

again the generation of the myraids of Rudras are essential elements in the creative process of the One becoming the many.

These Rudras are sometimes spoken of as emanations of Rudra himself and sometimes as having been created by Brahmā from the body of the cosmic Cow called Surabhi (Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, III. 14. 39-41; Liṅga Purāṇa, I. 22. 23-25). The list of names is also varied (Matsya, 5, 29-30, 153. 19; Liṅga, I, 82, 40-41; Bhavishya Purāṇa, Brahma Parva 125, 7).

These Rudras are the primal Yatis of creation. अजैकपाद् is the same as अज or अव्यय पुरुष. अहिर्बुध्न्य is the same as वृत्र or त्रित आप्त्य. विरूपाक्ष is the same as त्वष्टा essential for fashioning of forms (cf. त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु). रैवत connected with रेवती or पूषा is essential for gathering of the gross material elements. Others like सावित्र, त्र्यम्बक, जयन्त, अपराजित are but symbols of the different principles that operate in the creative process. The Sāvitra Rudra typifies the propelling power transmitted to the individual centre. The Tryambaka represents the trinitarian principle of generation as Mind, Life and Matter. Jayanta is the war-like hero, and Aparājita is he who triumphs against the Asuras. The Purāṇas are explicit in stating that these Rudras are but archetypes. By themselves they were unable to create the animal forms. Thereupon Śiva created out of himself his female energy. Śiva-Pārvatī then became the universal parents. The Universe of Rudra is called the Rodasī (रोदसी), in which the law of male and female is opera tive. Therein द्यौः is the Father and पृथिवी is the Mother. All species of living creatures within the womb of the Rodasī are under the control of Agni-Soma union of the two parents. The एकादश रुद्राः give birth by differentiation to millions and billions of Rudras, but each is the offspring of these Two Parents. Each has its mouth or assimilation in the form of Vaiśvānara Fire. The Vaiśvānara is the bodily Fire, the metabolic force possessing the essential characteristie of assimilation and elimination :

वैश्वानरमुखाः सर्वे विश्वरूपाः कपर्दिनः ।
नीलकण्ठाः सितग्रीवास्तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रास्त्रिलोचनाः ॥२१५॥

विभज्य बहुधात्मानं जरामृत्युविवर्जिताः ।
क्रीडन्ते विविधैर्भावैर्भोगान्प्राप्य सुदुर्लभान् ॥३१९॥

एकादशानां रुद्राणां कोट्योऽनेका महात्मनाम् ॥३२०॥

एभिः सह महात्मानो देवदेवो महेश्वरः ।
भक्तानुकम्पनो भगवान्मोदते पार्वतीप्रियः ॥३२१॥

(वायु पु० अ० १०१)

In Vedic symbolism we have the formula :

यतयः = मुनयो वातरशनाः = सप्त ऋषयः = असत्प्राणाः ।

The Yatis are the Prāṇic forces, which start those whirling movements that tend to evolve individuating centres. They are girdled by Vāta or the Maruts, viz. the Seven Prāṇas that are attached to each Indra or मध्य प्राण. As वातरशना मुनयः they are like young boys who have not yet donned the robe. The robe is the enveloping principle, that which gives birth to विवस्वान्, or the Sun as the archetype of manifestation.

In the Purāṇas these Munis tread the path of निवृत्ति. They are created by Brahmā as सन, सनक, सनन्दन, सनातन, सनत्कुमार, सनत्सुजात and कपिल.

They retire to the forest and do not enter the householder's life. Thereupon Prajāpatī creates another brood of Seven Sages, viz. मरीचि, अंगिरा, अत्रि, पुलस्त्य, पुलह, क्रतु, वसिष्ठ (शान्ति० 327-61-65).

According to the Śatapatha these primal Ṛishis are only forms of Prāṇic energy and as such are called Asat, in contra-distinction to the Bhūtas which are Sat[1]. We have here three successive principles, viz. Asat, Ṛishi and Prāṇa. The three are inter-related or virtually different forms of one and the

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१. असद्वाऽइदमग्रऽआसीत् । तदाहुः किं तदसदासीदिति । ऋषयो वाव तेऽग्रेऽसदासीत् । तदाहुः के तऽऋषय इति । प्राणा वाऽऋषयः । ते यत्पुरास्मात् सर्वस्मादिदमिच्छन्तः श्रमेण तपसारिषंस्तस्माद् ऋषयः । (शत० ६।१।१।१)

same principle, viz. the Vital Airs as Yatis. Toil (श्रम) and Austerity (तपस्) are the Yati's way for creative endeavour; they wear themselves out (अरिपन्), with whirling movements as a troupe of dancers. The Yatis are essential in the scheme of creative movement. There are seven Devas whom Aditi generated.

सप्तभिः पुत्रैरदितिरुपप्रैत्पूर्व्यं युगम् ।
(ऋ० १०.७२।९)

Each Deva has a Yati or Muni associate to complete his creative work.

मुनिर्देवस्य देवस्य सौकृत्याय सखा हितः ।
(ऋ० १०।१३६।४)

As One, this Muni of matted locks is the same as Rudra-Śiva, called Dhūrjaṭi. But in his manifold form He becomes Sapta-Muni or Ekādaśa-Rudra. This Yati is called देवेषित (ऋ० १०।१३६।५), i. e. impelled or inspired by the gods. As Mahādeva, the gods wait upon Him and adore Him.

The matted locks are his rays, or radiation, also called प्रवर्ग्य or उच्छिष्ट, the element separated from Him and utilised in the creative process.

The Sālāvṛikas

Indra cast away the Yatis to the Sālāvṛikas. This was a Vedic motif. In the Purāṇa it is said that Śiva as the great Yati vanquished the Śālāvṛikas, which had been created by Indra as quickeners of different units (हितानां प्रणुदः) and made them over to Rudra (Harivaṁśa, II 72–31). This is reminiscent of the Ṛigveda, येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते (VIII 3. 9), i. e. Indra assigns to the Yatis the function of the individual distribution of treasures, where धन is the same as Vasu, and धनेहिते is equal to वसुधान (cf. रत्नधातम function of Agni), referring to the creation of each new life with the help of Vasus, who comprise the triple principle of Life, Mind & Matter.

सालावृक of the Ṛigveda is the same as शालावृक of the Purāṇas. शाला is a house (गृह, दम) and each human body is treated as an abode in which प्राण or Life resides as a guest and waxes (वर्धमानं स्वे दमे ऋ० १।१।८ ; जुष्टो दमूना अतिथिर्दुरोणे, ऋ० ५।४।५ ; स दर्शतश्रीरतिथिर्गृहे गृहे, ऋ० १०।९१।२).

Life-Principle is spoken of as a lion (सिंह), a tiger (व्याघ्र), or a hyena (सालावृक). These are the royal beasts of the forest, feeding on flesh and blood. Food eaten is converted by the bodily fire into secretions and one of them is blood. Blood is the symbol *par excellence* of Life, or Prāṇa, the Rajas or Akshara functioning in the body. The colour of Rajas is red, and so is that of blood, the secretion rich in red corpuscles. It is the solar rays that transmit the ruddy element to the blood.

The lion is the animal feeding on the sap of life, the blood. The bodies of all creatures or animals are made of the five material elements of which earth is the most conspicuous. Life consists in the miracle of blood flowing into the arteries and veins and saturating the body with rejuvenative potency.

भूम्या असुरसृगात्मा क्वस्वित् । (ऋ० १।१६४।४)

'What is the source of the blood of earth, the life, the spirit ?' This biological query holds the key to the mystery of life. The conversion of water into blood, and of blood into the seed that creates life, and of that seed again into mind—these are the arch mysteries. The principle of energy within each body feeding on the blood of the earth is metaphorically spoken of as the Lion, which is the same as the Hyena from the point of view of symbolism. Both feed on blood or the life-sap. Both live in the forest and are friendly to the Yati or the forest recluse. The lion is an attendant of Śiva :

कैलासगौरं वृषमारुरुक्षोः पादार्पणानुग्रहपूतपृष्ठम् ।
अवेहि मां किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुंभमित्रम् ॥

(रघु० २।३५)

Of the Ashṭamūrtis of Śiva, i. e. Mind, Life, Matter (मन-प्राणापान-पंचभूत), the five gross elements are symbolised by the lion. He is a manifestation of Śiva, and the whole fraternity of lions (known as माया सहस्रं सिंहानां, Vāyu 101.291) chained to the pillars in the shrine of Śiva, represent so many manifestations of Rudra. Agni-Rudra has transformed himself as so many lions or hyenas :—

यद्वै सहस्रं सिंहानामीश्वरेण महात्मना ।
व्यपनीय स्वकाद्देहात्क्रोधास्ते सिंहविग्रहाः ॥
वैश्वानरमयैः पाशैः संरुद्धास्तु पृथक् पृथक् ।
(वायु० १०१. २९४-२९५)

Thus each centre of individuation is a lion or hyena feeding on blood and flesh. The Yatis are also forms of Rudra, the innumerable turning spirals or vortices of one basic energy, which is symbolically the same as so many Gaṇas or Pramathas of Rudra of every conceivable form. They are together known as the Śata-Rudras. Each human or animal body is the abode of one Yati, or one Rudra, or his servant one Siṁha, or one Sālāvṛika. The One cosmic divine energy of Rudra becomes divided into the many Rudras or Sālāvṛikas. Each of these hyenas holds in his mouth the triple Yatis, i. e. the tripartite life-principle of Manas, Prāṇa and Vāk, i. e. Mind, Life and Matter.

TAMIL VERSIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS

By

V. Raghavan

[पुराणपत्रिकायाः प्रथमसञ्चिकायां द्राविड्यामनूदितस्य पद्यमयस्य मत्स्यपुराणस्य स्वरूपं वर्णितं, तस्य मूलसंस्कृतमत्स्यपाठनिर्णये उपयोगश्च विचारितः। अन्येषामपि पुराणानामुपपुराणानां पौराणिकसंहितानां, तद्भागानां च द्राविड्यां येऽनुवादा मुद्रिता अमुद्रिता वा वर्तन्ते ते ऽत्र लेखे वर्ण्यन्ते।

—वे. रा.]

In the first issue of this Bulletin, an account was given of the Tamil Matsya-purāṇa, its unique character and bearing on the textual problems of that Purāṇa. In the present contribution it is proposed to describe the other Purāṇas that are available in Tamil versions. As already pointed out, some of these translations are earlier than the oldest extant manuscripts of the respective Sanskrit texts and are of value in the textual criticism of these Purāṇas.

The great religious revival that appeared in the Pallava times and expressed itself in literature, psalm, and temple and sculpture shows indeed the wide knowledge and vogue in the Tamil country of the Purāṇic material, the stories, forms of deities, worships etc., as found in the Purāṇas. Epigraphy shows that endowments were made in the South Indian temples for the exposition of the epics and Purāṇas. Two of the Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata on the side of Vishṇu and the Sūta Saṁhitā, described as part of the Skanda-purāṇa, on the side of Śiva, bear unmistakable evidences of South Indian nativity. The two epics were done into Tamil very early, a Tamil Bhārata going to the Sangam age itself. The Purāṇic mythology and the religious and cultural milieu are already reflected in the Sangam works, particularly in the Paripāḍal. The account of the sixty-three Śaiva Saints by Sundaramūrti, one of them, who belonged to the later Pallava times, is referred to as a Purāṇa. The Yāpperuṅkala vṛitti (prosody) cites a work called *Purāṇa-*

sāgara in *veṇbā*-metre ; the text and the gloss are both by Jain writers and the Purāṇa-sāgara mentioned here may well be a Jain work ; but it is all the same interesting to note that in the 10-11th centuries, it was natural to compose Purāṇic works in Tamil.

A more specific reference to Hindu Purāṇic works in Tamil is forthcoming from the inscriptions of the 12th century. On the western wall of the Pāṭaliśvara temple at Tiruppātirippuliyūr (Cuddalore Old Town, known as the Pāṭalīputra of the South), there is an inscription from which we learn that in the 41st and 49th regnal years (1111,1119 A. D.) of the Chola King Kulottuṅga (A. D. 1018), there was an important scholar and religious personality known as Viraittalaivan Parasamaya-Kolari, a recluse (muni) ; among his works mentioned in this epigraph are a play, the Kannivana-purāṇa and the Ashṭādaśa-purāṇa.[1] The last mentioned work of this author was perhaps a single succint account of all the 18 Purāṇas and not a collection of Tamil renderings of all the 18 Purāṇas.

For a sustained effort to render into Tamil the various Purāṇas in Sanskrit, we have to come to the later Vijayanagar and the post-Vijayanagar periods. The ground was prepared by the rise of the great temples, and the growth of the importance of different shrines, on the sanctity of many of which *māhātmyas* had come to be composed in Tamil-verse. Most of these māhātmya-works in Tamil[2] are called Purāṇas, and in the wake of the Kannivana-purāṇa already referred to, there arose the Kōyirpurāṇa on Chidambaram by the great Śaiva teacher Umāpati Sivāchārya (end of 13th and beginning of 14th century) [For mss. see Madras D. no. 571 R. No. 1264], the Tiruvārūr Purāṇa by Sambandha Muni at the end of the 16th century, the Setupurāṇa (Mss. in Tanjore and Madras Libraries), the Purāṇas

1. SII. VII. 752-3. See also my "Methods of Popular Religious Education in South India, "Cultural Heritage of India," Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, IV. pp. 503-14.

2. For mss. of several of these, see Descriptive Catalogues of the Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library and the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore.

of Tirupparaṅgiri and Tiruvayyāṛu by Nirambavalagiya Deśikar[1], the Tirumaluvāḍi-purāṇa of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśār (16th cent.), the Uttarakośamaṅgai-purāṇa of Māśilāmaṇi Sambandhar, the Chidambara-purāṇa in the beginning of the 16th century by Purāṇa Tirumalaināthan, the Vṛiddhāchala-purāṇa of Jñāna-k-Kūttar (Madras D. nos. 630-8), the Tiruvāñchhiya-purāṇa of Kalandaikkumāran in the beginning of the 17th century, Aghoramuni's Purāṇas on Kumbhakoṇam, Vedāraṇyam etc., the Palanitthala-purāṇa of Bālasubrahmaṇya Kavirāyar of the first quarter of the 17th century, the Aruṇāchala-purāṇa (Madras D. 550), the Sevvandi (Tiruchi)-purāṇa (Madras D. 583) and Tiruviriñchhai-purāṇa of Ellappa Nāvalar of the middle of the 16th century, the Tiruvāppanūr-purāṇa of Kandasāmi Pulavar of the first half of the 17th century, the Tirukkurugai-mānmiyam of Kurugai Perumāl (last quarter of the 16th cent.), the Kāñchī-purāṇa[2] of Śivajñānamuni and Kachchiyappamuni, the Śrīraṅga-māhātmya of Appi Āchārya, the Tirukkaḻukkunṛa-p-purāṇa by Vīrarāghava Mudaliyār, the Tiruvānaikkā (Jambukeśvara) and Tiruttaṇikai Purāṇas of Kachchiyappamuni[3] mentioned above, the Veda (Ādi) purī (Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-purāṇa by Karuṇākara (1803 A. D.) etc. Many others of this class of Purāṇic works celebrating particular shrines, and referred to as Sthala-purāṇas, could be mentioned. Some of these, being the production of well-known scholars and writers, enjoy a reputation for their literary value also. Further, some of these were written by the same authors, who as we shall see presently, produced Tamil versions of the main Purāṇas.

During this age, the 18 main Purāṇas, as well as some of Upapurāṇas, attracted the attention of Tamil scholars and writers. One of the remarkable things that would strike us

1. He is considered to have been preceptor of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍyan and Varaguṇa Pāṇḍyan who themselves wrote Purāṇa-translations. See below.

2. Manuscripts of this and the following five Sthala-purāṇas are to be found in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

3. For his Vināyaka Purāṇa translation and some other Sthala-purāṇas in Tamil, see below,

in this connection is that the initiative for this line of work appeared among the followers of Śaivism and it is the Śaivite Purāṇas that figure largely among these earlier Tamil translations. In the sequel we shall make a survey of those main Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas or their major sections, which were thus rendered into Tamil. It is but proper to start with the versions connected with the names of the later Pāṇḍya Chiefs of Tenkāśi, who took a special interest in this line of work.

The Kūrma-purāṇa

The Tamil version of the Kūrma-purāṇa is by Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍyan. The author was one of the rulers at Tenkāśī; he was the son of Tirunelveli-p-perumāl and the time of his rule is 1564-1596 A.D. There is hardly a student of Tamil who does not know or has not read his Tamil Naishadha Kāvya. The other Purāṇas rendered by him into Tamil and noticed elsewhere in this paper are the Liṅga and the Kāśīkhaṇḍa.

The Tamil Kūrma-purāṇa was edited by T. K. Subbaraya Chettiar (Adikalanidhi Press, Madras 1898). A detailed notice of the work can be had in the Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in the Madras Government Oriental Library (See Tamil D. nos. 548, 549; R. nos. 2660,5283,5494). A comparison of the contents of the Tamil version with the Venkateśwara Press edition of the Sanskrit text shows that the translator has closely followed the Sanskrit original, but one important difference should be noted. Like the Sanskrit original, the Tamil work also is in two parts, pūrva and uttara kāṇḍas, but while the subjects of the first part agree fully in the two texts, in the second part, the Tamil text shows additional material. Between the topic of the Prāyaśchittas of the Mahāpātakas and that of the Tīrthas, the Tamil text adds seven topics which bring out the glory of Śiva through different stories etc. Tripuradahana, the fruit of Śivapūjā, the fruit of uttering Śiva's name, the story of Upamanyu and what he attained through Śivabhakti, Jālandharāsuravadha, the story of Vishṇu obtaining the disc through Śiva's grace and the story of Sudeva's devotion.

The Pūrva Kāṇḍa, in the Tamil text, comprises 51 chapters, the Uttara, 64 and the total number of the verses in the whole text is 3717.

THE LIṄGA-PURĀṆA

The Tamil version of the Liṅga is the work of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya, who according to the editor of the Tamil Kāśīkhaṇḍa in the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math Series, is the same as the well-known translator of Purāṇas, Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya mentioned above. The work is available in print (Lakshmi Vilas Press, Madras). The translation, which is in verses, closely follows the Sanskrit original as can be verified by comparing the text with that found in the Venkateswara Press edition, though the Tamil version effects a good deal of condensation. Like the Sanskrit text, the Tamil version too is in two parts, called here Khaṇḍas; the first has exactly the 108 chapters into which the Sanskrit text is divided in its earlier part. In the latter part, the Sanskrit text has 55 chapters, but the Tamil version has only 46 chapters. The Vaishṇava-lakshaṇa and Vaishṇava-māhātmya of ch. 4 of the Uttarabhāga is completely dropped by the Tamil text; so also the contents of ch. 7 of the Sanskrit text dealing with the eight-syllabled and twelve-syllabled mantra of Vishṇu and the story of Aitareya-dvija. The elaborate treatment of Śiva's greatness in Sanskrit in three chapters, 14, 15, 16, is condensed in Tamil. Even in respect of the Śaiva-material, the description of Tryambaka-mantra in ch. 54 of the Sanskrit work is missing from the Tamil version. For mss. of this translation, see D. 536-7 of the Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.

THE ŚIVĀ-PURĀṆA

A Tamil version of this Purāṇa goes to a fairly early period (beginning of the 16th cent.), having been composed by Purāṇa Tirumalainātha who, as stated already, wrote also a Sthala-purāṇa on the Chidambaram shrine. A full ms. of this has not yet come to my notice, but two fragments of it are described by Śrī Ulakanatha Pillai in his Catalogue of Tamil

Mss. in the Sarsvati Mahal, Tanjore (I. 460, 461, under the titles Dadhīchi and Vināviḍai; see especially the reference at the end of the ms. on p. 369 of the Catalogue).

In the same Catalogue, ms. no. 279 is described as Śarabha-purāṇa and the editor remarks that all these three, Śarabha, Dadhīci and Vināviḍai, appear to be of same authorship. That is, all these three are parts of a translation of the Śiva-purāṇa probably by Tirumalaināthа. In the printed Śiva-purāṇa (Venkateswara Press), the corresponding section dealing with Śarabha is chs. 10, 11, 12 of the third book, the Śatarudrīya-saṁhitā. The Dadhīchi-story is to be found in the same Purāṇa, book two, Rudra-saṁhitā, second subsection called Satī-khaṇḍa, chs. 38-9, and also to some extent in book three, Śatarudrīya-saṁhitā, ch. 24.

A recent prose rendering (*vachanam*) of the whole Śiva-purāṇa by Ratnavelu Mudaliar is available in print (1900).

The Vāyu-saṁhitā

There is in Tamil a metrical version of a Sanskrit Purāṇic text called Vāyu-saṁhitā. The author of this translation is Kulaśekhara Varaguṇarāma Pāṇḍya who can be identified as a cousin of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya and son of Parākrama Kulaśekhara, of Tenkāśi (1543-1550). This is in print (Adikalanidhi Press, Madras) and according to the Preface, this edition was based on six manuscripts. There is a manuscript of it in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (R. 593). This has nothing to do with the text of the Vāyu-purāṇa published by the Venkateswara Press or the Ānandāśrama. It is a rendering of the seventh book called Vāyavīya-saṁhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, as found in the Venkateswara Press edition. The Tamil text closely follows the Sanskkrit original though there is condensation as well as slight differences in the order of the topics and chapters. The whole text of the Tamil version extends to 1334 verses. For a manuscript of this, see Triennial Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, R. no. 593 (a)

The Śivadharma and the Śivadharmottara :

As early as A. D. 1054, we have an inscription (214 of 1911) in the Tirunāgeśvaram Temple mentioning the exposition of the *Śivadharma* ; and as early as 1553, Maraijñānasambandhar of a Math in Chidambaram rendered into Tamil the *Śivadharmottara,* the composition comprising twelve sections and about 1200 verses. Manuscripts of this latter translation are described in the Catalogues of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (D. 1287, R. 1258. 1422) and in the Sarasvati Mahal Library (I 440, 523) ; the editor of the latter Catalogue says that this has also been printed. In the same Catalogue we have also an anonymous Tamil metrical version of the Śivadharma (I. 536, 538).

The Skanda-purāṇa

This is by far the most popular amoug the Purāṇas, so far as the Tamil region is concerned. As noted elsewhere, separate sections purporting to be parts of the Skānda have also been rendered into Tamil. As regards one of the major books of the Skānda, the most reputed Tamil version, which is also deemed as a work of high literary merit, is the Kanda-purāṇa of Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya of the first quarter of the 17th cent. The text has been printed more than once and several prose resumes of it have also appeared. There are several manuscripts of the whole text, as well as of sections of this text. Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya was an *archaka* in the Kumara-Koṭṭa temple at Kāñchī and the son of Kālattiyappa Śivāchārya. The work is in 7 Kāṇḍas, with a total of 14696 verses. Kāṇḍas 1-6 (Utpatti, Asura, Mahendra, Yuddha, Deva and Daksha) are by Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya and the 7th, the Upadeśa-Kāṇḍa, was written by his pupil Koneriyappa Mudaliar. The Sanskrit original of the work is the *Śaṅkara-saṁhitā,* one of the six Saṁhitās into which the *Southern* Skānda is divided.

Among other verse and prose accounts and epitomes of this text may be mentioned :

Kandapurāṇa-saṅgraha (prose) ; D. no. 545, Tamil Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Oriental Library.

Kandapurāṇa-ch-churukkam (epitome) by Sambandhaśaraṇālaya Svāmi, attached to the Dharmapuram Math, a scholar in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, who wrote this epitome in Tamil at the instance of the Mysore Ruler. (Ptd. Alliance Press, Madras-4, 1945). This epitome is in 1049 verses.

Kanda-purāṇa-vachana in prose by Ārumuga Nāvalar (Ptd.).

Kanda-purāṇa-vachana in prose, shorter than the previous one, by Muttukṛishṇa Reddiar (Ptd. Madras).

Kanda-purāṇa-navanīta, a short metrical exposition of the teachings, by Sentinathier of Jaffna (Ptd.).

A prose version of Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya's work by T. Pattusvami Ōduvār published by Tiruppanandāl Kashi Math in 1953.

A close prose rendering of Kachchiyappa's composition by Ramasvami Naidu of Kāñchī (Ptd. 1908).

A prose version *Kandapurāṇa-vachanam* by Ramasvami Mudaliar (Pub. Saiva Siddhanta Works Publication Society, 1950).

A recent exposition from Jaffna, Kandapurāṇa-vilakkam, is by Śrī Śivapādasundaram.

The Śivarahasya Khaṇḍa

This forms part of the above mentioned Sankara-saṁhitā of the Skānda. A Tamil translation of it in 4087 verses, in two Kāṇḍas, was composed by Oppilāmaṇi Deśikar of Tiruvārūr. This was released ceremoniously before King Serfoji of Tanjore (1800–32). Under the supervision of Aruṇāchala Kavirāyar of Setrur Estate, this was printed and published at Tiruchengode. Another Tamil version of it available in print (pp. 996; Gīrvāṇa Vani Vilas Press, Tiruvayyaru), was written towards the end of the last century by Ananta Vaidyanātha Śivan, and it carries an

appreciation by Mm. Rāju (Tyāgarāja) Śāstri of Mannārguḍi. This translation now and then quotes the original Sanskrit verses too.

The Brahmottara Kāṇḍa

The Tamil version of this was composed by Varatuṅga Pāṇḍya and the text was published in 1907, having been printed at the Padmanabhavilas Press, Madras.[1] The work is in 22 chapters and 1310 verses. The author was the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, elder paternal uncle of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya, described elsewhere in this paper and came to authority in A. D. 1588.[2] He was the pupil of Nimbai Iśānaśivamuni. From the following table of contents, it may be seen that it is wholly devoted to Śiva, narrating stories relating to his glory and worship :

Pañchākshara-mahimā
Śivadāna-mahimā
Kalmāshapāda-mukti
Vimarśa-mukti
Śanipradosha-pūjā
Satyadhana-pūjā
Pradoshapūjā-mahimā
Somavāre Sīmantinībhāvanā
Śivayogi-mahimā
Bhadrāyushaḥ Rājyaprāptiḥ
Śivakavacha
Bhadrāyushaḥ Kathā
Bhadrāyushaḥ Mukti
Vibhūti-mahimā
Tripuṇḍra-mahimā
Vyādhasya Śivapūjāvrata
Umāmaheśvarapūjā-mahimā
Umāmaheśvarapūjā-phala

1. For a ms. of this, see the Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore, Vol. I, no. 465, and Seshagiri Shastri's Report, Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, I, pp. 252–3.

2. See M. Raghava Iyengar, *Śāsana-t-Tamil-Kavi Charitam*, 1937, p. 172.

Rudrāksha-mahimā
Vañjulā-mukti

On comparing these chapters and subject-titles, we find that this work is a translation of the text of the same name Brahmottara, but with Kāṇḍa given as Khaṇḍa, which is described in its colophons as part of the Brahma-saṁhitā of the Skanda-purāṇa. Mss. of this Sanskrit original can be seen described in the Sanskrit Mss. Catalogues of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (D. 2303-9; R. 1226. 2672), of tne Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (nos. 10233–10251), and of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Aufrecht's Catalogue, nos. 126–8). The Tamil and Sanskrit texts agree in Chapter-division also.

For a Tamil prose version of it, see D. no. 2193 of the Tamil Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Govt. Oriental Mas. Library,

There is also available in print a Tamil prose version (*vachana*) of this poetical translation.

THE SŪTA-SAṀHITĀ

The importance of this text, described as part of the Skānda, has already been touched upon.[1] Among Saivites, as well as Advaitins, this has always enjoyed great vogue and a separate commentary on it was also written by Mādhavamantrin at the beginning of the Vijayanagar period. The Sūta-saṁhitā describes many of the leading holy places of the Tamil country and makes express mention of the Tamil Śaivite psalms (Devāram). A translation of this text that has appeared more than once in print is the one by Vallūr Devarāja Pillai. In 1913, N. S. Rajaramier brought out from Chidambaram a prose version based on the rendering by R. Anantakrishna Sastri. A recent succint prose version of it is the Sūta-saṁhitā-sārāmṛita-vachana by the lady Devakuñjarī Ammāl (Ptd. Madras).

1. On this text, its history and importance see my article 'The Sūta Saṁhitā' in ABORI. XXII. pp. 236-53.

THE KĀŚĪKHAṆḌA

This text, described as a section of the Skanda-purāṇa, is well-known and has enjoyed independent status. Its Tamil version too is a well-known work, having been composed by the celebrated Ativīrarāma Pāṇdyan and published more than once.[1] It is in 100 chapters and 2526 verses. On a detailed comparison of the chapters of the Tamil text with the Sanskrit text of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa printed by the Venkateswara Press, the Tamil version is found to tally fully with the Sanskrit text, the only difference being that the division of Part I (pūrvārdha) falls in the Sanskrit text at the end of ch. 50, whereas the Tamil text ends its pūrvakāṇḍa at the close of ch. 41,

THE VINĀYAKA-PURĀṆA

This Tamil Purāṇa, which bears the additional title of *Bhārgava-purāṇa* is the work of Kachchiyappa Muni attached to the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math. It has been in print, having been issued from Ganesa Press, Madras, in 1910. The author was born, 230 years ago, in Tiruttani on the present northern border of the Madras State. He wrote also the Sthala-purāṇas of shrines like his own Taṇikai, Kāñchī, Pūvalūr, Ānaikkā (Jambukeśvara) and Pērūr. The Vināyaka-purāṇa was done by him from its Sanskrit original during his sojourn in Madras city, and it was dedicated to one of the Vināyaka temples, Prasanna Vināyaka, in Madras. He stayed at the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math at Kānchī and passed away in Śaka 1712.

The work purports to be translated from Sanskrit and the printed edition referred to above is in two Kāṇḍas entitled respectively Upāsanā and Līlā. There are in all 85 Paṭalas.

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1. The latest and best edition is the one issued as no. 72 of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math Series in 1953. The edition has an informative introduction. There are several mss. of this text. For description of manuscripts of it see the Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss., Madras Govt. Mss. Library, D. nos. 565-6 and the Catalogue of Tamil Mss in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, I, 470. For a separate ms. of the Gaṅgāsahasranāma forming Ch. 29 of the Tamil version, see the same Tanjore Tamil Catalogua, Vol. II, p. 173.

It is interesting to trace the source of Kachchiyappa Muni's work.

Neither a Vināyaka-purāṇa as such nor a Bhārgava-purāṇa dealing with Gaṇeśa is known in Sanskrit. On examining all the Purāṇic materials in manuscript and print bearing on Vināyaka, I was able to find out the original or originals of this Tamil version. In India Office, London, and in the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore, there is a Sanskrit work called *Gaṇeśa-māhātmya* or *Vināyaka-māhātmya*, in 24 chapters (IO. 3652. TD. 10347-8). The same ms. is noticed also by Rajendralal Mitra (L. 1751), but under the title Gaṇeśa Khaṇḍa. The second part of the Tamil purāṇa, called Līlākāṇḍa, comprises only 16 chapters, but the stories of Gaṇeśa told here are the same as those in the 24 chapters of the Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka-māhātmya in Sanskrit mentioned above. This Sanskrit text purports, according to its colophon, to be part of the Skanda-purāṇa. Now, how about the former part of the Tamil text which is entitled Upāsanā Kāṇḍa and comprises 69 chaptere ? This section is found to be a rendering of the first section of the printed text called Gaṇeśa-purāṇa, brought out by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay. The first book of thich Gaṇeśa-purāṇa is called Upāsanā Kāṇḍa and a comparison of the contents of the two texts discloses their identity. There is of course some transposition of the matter, e. g. the Gaṇeśa-sahasranāma with which the Tamil text closes its Upāsanā Kāṇḍa, but which is found in an earlier chapter in the Sanskrit text. The comparison of these two texts shows also how the author of the Tamil version came to give it the alternate title Bhārgava-purāṇa. This name is evidently to be traced to the fact that Bhṛigu is one of the chief interlocutors of the Purāṇa in this section. I have otherwise not been able to find out any manuscript of a Sanskrit text which could correspond exactly to all these details in the Tamil version. Did Kachchi-yappa Muni have a Sanskrit ms. in which the first part of the Gaṇeśa-purāṇa as printed, and the text called Vināyaka-māhātmya and called by the Tamil text Līlākāṇḍa were found

together? The question cannot be easily answered. Firstly, the printed Gaṇeśa-purāṇa also describes its second part as dealing with the Līlās of Gaṇeśa, though it does not give itself the actual name Līlākāṇḍa. This second part of the printed Ganeśa-purāṇa is very much longer than the second part of the Tamil text, but there is some story-material which is common to the two. From the contents, it is clear that the source of the second part of the Tamil text is the Sanskrit text called Gaṇeśa-māhātmya, but not the second part of the Gaṇeśa-purāṇa, as available in print. In the preface to the above-mentioned Madras edtion of the Vināyaka-purāṇa in Tamil, it is said that at first only the Upāsanā-kāṇḍa part was printed and it was later that the Līlākāṇḍa was also found and the two were then printed together. This, along with what has been said above, may lead one to surmise that Kachchiyappa Muni wrote the two parts separately, using two different Sanskrit texts.

Mss. of this Vināyaka-purāṇa are available in the Madras Library and it has also a long prose version written more recently by Muttuswami Mudaliar (Printed, Madras 1928). For a prose version of it in ms., see Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, D. no. 450.

THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA

This was partially translated into Tamil by Toluvūr Velāyudha Mudaliar, who was Tamil Pandit in Colleges in the City of Madras. The author was born in 1832 and he died in 1889. His translation, which is in prose, follows the Sanskrit original closely and is available in print (Ayurveda Press, Madras 1909) and goes up to the end of ch. 24, Madālasā's discourse on Rājadharma. The author evidently did not write beyond the 24th chapter.

The *Devī-māhātmya* (Saptaśatī or Chaṇḍī), forming part of this Purāṇa, being a very popular text, has given rise to many Tamil renderings, in modern times especially, including one, in prose, by the present writer (1946). There is a metrical version of this text by P. Nallatambi Pillai in 395 verses

(Tamilian Press, Erode), which is accompained by a gloss by Daivasikhamani Gaundar.

The Vishṇu-Purāṇa

Of this Purāṇa, there is an unpublished anonymous trnslation described in the Madras Tamil Catalogues, D. No. 465. In the style of Maṇipravāla (Tamil freely mixed with Sanskrit) common to Śrīvaishṇava writings, we have a version of the Vishṇu by Karichchaṅgal Śrīnivāsāchārya, a manuscript of which is to be found in the Madras Government Oriental Library (Tamil, R. 953). We have also a recent translation made in the last quarter of the last century by Īchchambāḍi Śrīnivāsarāghavāchāri who retired as Tamil Pandit from the Presidency College, Madras in 1879. The version was touched up by Purasai M. Yatirāja Bhāgavatar and published in 1954. The last mentioned produced also a prose version of the Bhāgavata, calling it the Mahābhāgavata.

The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa

In manuscripts we have three Tamil versions of the Bhāgavata preserved in the Government Oriental Library, Madras (D. 430; 431; 432-4; R. 1056-62). The oldest of the Tamil translations of the Bhāgavata seems to be a metrical rendering called Bhāgavatasāra by one Tāṇḍava Śāstrin of Ērakaram Village, about 350 years ago. This is not available, but a prose resume of it is found in manuscript D. 430 of the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library D. 431; here is a fairly close prose version and D. 432-4 represent, another prose version by one Chinnayyan of Araśūr which seems to be based on a Telugu version of one Timmayya. R. 1056, 1062 are portions of a Maṇipravāla (mixed Tamil-Sanskrit) rendering of the Bhāgavata by Karichchaṅgal Śrīnivāsāchārya, whose version of the Vishṇu in the same style has been mentioned above. There are some more manuscripts of Tamil versions of the Bhāgavata in the same Library and these have yet to be examined. In the Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal,

Tanjore, parts of another prose version of the Bhāgavata are described under nos. 462, 463 (Vol. I).

Other translations of this Purāṇa available in print are of recent date. The oldest of these seems to be that of Āriyappulavan of Kumbhakonam, in 4970 verses ; it was printed in 1908, with meanings for difficult words by Kāñchīpuram Ramaswami Naidu. The next one seems to be a version called Śrī Mahābhāgavatam in 78 paṭalas and 4694 verses, whose author is not mentioned. Its publication was sponsored by C. V. Kesavalu Naidu (Vidya Vinoda Press, Madras). The Tamil preface here, dealing with the nature of the Bhāgavata, mentions 7 Bhāgavatas in all : Purāṇa Bhāgavata, Saṁhitā Bhāgavata, Upasaṁhitā Bhāgavata, Vishṇurahasya Bhāgavata, Vishṇuyāmala Bhāgavata, and Gautamasaṁhitā Bhāgavata and what is more, gives details of the extent, interlocutors etc. for each. A third version of the Bhāgavata is that of Śevvaichchūḍuvār in 382 verses. (Published by the T. T. Devasthanam, Tirupati, 1949, 1953).

The Padma-Purāṇa

This Purāṇa also appears to have been translated into Tamil. In the Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, a ms. (No. 438) of a part of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of this Purāṇa in a Tamil prose version is described. There are 31 chapters in this Tamil version and the subjects covered in these chapters are the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, His Sudarśana Chakra, Ūrdhvapuṇḍra, Mantra, Ekādaśī, Vishṇupūjā, 108 names of Śrī Rāma and Sṛishṭikrama. The attempt to trace these subjects to their Sanskrit source shows that this Tamil version is based on the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Pādma as available in the 4th volume of the Ānandāśrama edition of that Purāṇa. The Tamil version effects some condensation. The following table shows the corresponding chapters of the ĀSS. text where these subjects are dealt with :

Tamil	*ĀSS.-edn. pt. IV. Sanskrit Text*
The ten incarnations	264-79
Sudarśana	10 (vv. 30-37) and 252 (vv 1-78)

Ūrdhvapuṇḍra	253 (vv. 1-58)
Mantra	251 (vv. 1-79) here called Vidyopadeśa
Ekādaśī	38-65; 261-2 (This is very elaborately dealt with)
Vishṇupūjā	280 (vv. 1-180) called here Vaishṇavāchāra)
Rāmāshṭottaraśatanāma	281 (vv 1-70)

The section relating to Sṛishṭi in the Tamil version is not traceable in the Sanskrit text.[1]

The Devībhāgavata :

The translation of this Purāṇa available in Tamil is a close modern prose version, recently prepared and sponsored by Sri T. S. Krishnier of Trivandrum and published by T. K. Subramania Iyer of Āykudi (Kabir Printing Works, Madras 1953),

The Garuḍa-Purāṇa

There is a Tamil version of the Gāruḍa in print, prepared at the instance of Kapisthalam Duraisvāmi Mūppanār (Ptd. S. P. V. Press, Madras 19.1). This is in prose and 32 chapters. On comparison with the Sanskrit Purāṇa, it is found that this is a very concise but connected account of select portions from the Sanskrit original.

The Āditya-purāṇa

A ms. of a Tamil translation with this title is found in the Tanjore Library (I. 539), but it cannot be said whether the whole Sanskrit Purāṇa of this name was rendered into Tamil; for the ms. in question contains only the Sthala-purāṇa called Pāṭalīvana-māhātmya, on a shrine on the north bank of Kaveri in Tanjore Dt., which might have been assigned to Āditya-purāṇa.

1. The Śabdakalpadruma has extracts from the Pādma-uttarakhaṇḍa answering to the topic-heads in the Tamil version, except the one relating to Sṛishṭi, but the chapter-numbers given therein do not agree with those in the ASS. edn.

THE KALKI-PURĀṆA

Of this there is recent Tamil Prose translation by Vidvān K. Deśikāchārya, which has been printed at Madras (1904) and published by A. Anantacharya. The comparison with the Sanskrit original shows that the Tamil version is a close translation, The only difference noticed is that in the Sanskrit original which the translator had before him, the whole text was given in three sections called Aṁśas.

OTHER PURANIC TEXTS

In later times, when particular communities were faced with the problem of their status and it was the accepted practice to appeal to texts like the Purāṇas for authority as to their origin and position, a good number of Purāṇic works appeared in Sanskrit setting forth the traditional accounts of the origin of these communities. It is interesting to note that some of these Purāṇic works relating to particular communities are to be found in Tamil also.

One such is the *Valai-vīśupurāṇa*, a manuscript of which is available in the Tanjore Library (I. 515). This sets forth the legendary origin from God Kumāra of the community of fisher-folk called Paratavar.

The *Devāṅga-purāṇa* available in a metrical Tamil version, and in print, concerns the legendary divine origin of the community of weavers. The Tamil version, as stated in the preface to its edition, was written on the representation made by the Devāṅga community to the Zamindar of Bōdināyakanūr. The Zamindar commissioned three Tamil scholars of Coimbatore, Kalappadi and Palani—Sadāśivasvāmi, Doḍḍaya Deśikar ahd Māmbala-k-Kavichchiṅga Nāvalar to produce the Tamil rendering of the Devāṅga-purāṇa available in Sanskrit. The translation was made in verses and a prose gloss was then added. The whole version was revised by Sadasiva Iyer, guru of the Devāṅgas, in the light nf the Sanskrit original and was finally printed and published by the merchants of the Devāṅga eommunity. It was dedicated before the patron deity of the Devāṅgas, Goddess Chauḍeśvarī,

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The original Sanskrit Devāṅga-purāṇa is available in two manuscripts, one in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office, London (See Wilson's catalogue of the Mackenzie collection, 1928, pp. 145–9; and IO. Catalogue 6688) and another in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (MD 2443). In the descriptions and extracts in these Catalogues, it is stated that this forms part of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa.

To the same Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa is assigned another Purāṇa called *Śrīkaruṇar Charitram,* dealing with legendary origin from Brahmā and Sarasvatī of the community of Śrīkaruṇar. Manuscripts of it are available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Tamil—D. no. 392 ff. See especially no. 402). One of these manuscripts (no. 392) gives a list of the 64 villages where families of this community live, and their Gotras and Sūtras related to the Ṛishis of old are also given. In the end, two persons subscribing themselves as Narayaṇa Pillai and Veṅku Pillai appeal to the Ruler for protection and help to the Community.

The *Viśva-purāṇa,* of which there are manuscripts in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library (E. g. see D. no. 463), similarly deals with Viśvakarmā and the artisan-community. It is in prose.

A METRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA*

By

C. R. SWAMINATHAN,

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य छन्दसां विषये अत्रालोचनात्मकः विचारः क्रियते। अनुष्टुबतिरिक्तं पंचविंशतिसंख्याकभेदभिन्नानि वृत्तान्तराणि अस्मिन् पुराणे प्रयुज्यन्ते। तान्यपि पाठभ्रंशदोषायत्ततया न लक्षणानुसारीणि। अतस्तेषां निर्णयोऽत्र विधातुं प्रयत्यते।]

In the first number of this Bulletin (pp. 72-79), readers would have noticed the article by Sri Thakura Prasad Dvivedi, which shows that a sequence of so-called prose passages in chapter 154 of the Matsya Purāṇa really consists of verses in the Sragviṇī metre. It would be of interest to scholars to have a complete metrical analysis of the Matsya Purāṇa.

The major part of the Matsya Purāṇa, as it is in the case of other Purāṇas, is in verses of the Śloka Anushṭubh metre. Outside of the Anushṭubh, the Matsya displays indeed a wide variety, no less than 25 other metres being employed. Next to the Anushṭubh, the most frequently employed metre is the Upajāti within which are included the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā in all their variations. These number about 450 couplets or nearly 900 lines. In the following table, the non-Anushtubh and the non-Upajāti metres are arranged in the order of their syllabic extent and the reference to chapters and verses where occur and the total number of half-verses (ardhas) in each metre are given.

Syllables per Quarter	Name of the Metre	Chapter & verse number (Āss. Edition)	Total No. of Ardhas
11	Dodhaka	116-23; 154-470 to 478	20
11	Bhramaravilasita	180.43	2
11	Rathoddhatā	97-17 to 20	8
11	Śālinī	154-8 to 15 ; 165-24	19
12	Bhujaṅgaprāyata	153-183 to 189;154-576,577	18

* prepared under the direction nf Dr. V. Raghavan.

12	Drutavilambita	158-11 to 19 ; 287-14, 15.	23
12	Sragviṇī	154-554 to 575.	
12	Toṭaka	154-30, 31, 33 to 37; 188-67 to 70.	22
12	Vaṁśastha	126-41; 130-27, 28; 133-67, 70, 72; 136-66 to 68; 138-57;140-43; 148-100, 101, 102; 153-151 to 154; 154-397 to 403; 162-36; 180-24 to 27, 29, 30, 32; 251-26.	71
13	Praharshiṇī	92-35; 164-28; 180-37, 38	
13	Ruchirā	118-77; 153-28; 154-452 to 458, 460 tc 463, 465 to 468; 250-54; 251-27, 29, 31, 33, 34	50
14	Vasantatilakā	64-28; 83-21 to 27; 96-14, 25; 100-8, 9; 116-25; 138-46, 47; 180-33, 34, 39 to 41, 78, 79; 255-24; 257-22, 23; 270-35, 36; 274-77, 78; 276.17, 18; 277-22; 279-11, 12, 13; 280-15; 281-15; 282-13 to 15; 283-17 to 19; 287-12, 13; 288-15, 16	84
15	Mālinī	63-29 ; 82-31 ; 93-161 ; 180-31, 44 ; 275-28, 29 ; 278-29 ; 280-14; 282-16 ; 284-21 ; 288-17; 289-17.	24
16	Pañchachāmara	153.137 to 139, 141 to 145	15
17	Pṛithvī	95-37	2
21	Sragdharā	1-2 ; 180-35, 36	6
11/12	Aparavaktra	133-70 ; 137-30, 36	6
12/13	Pushpitāgrā	54-31 ; 55-33 ; 60-49 ; 61-57 ; 62-39 ; 98-15 ; 100-37 ; 115-19 ; 134-33 ; 136-64 ; 137-31, 33 ; 161-89 ; 276-19; 281-14; 285-21, 23 ; 286-16	38
11/12	Mālābhriṇī	69-62 ; 81-1, 2 ; 95-36	2
	Āryā	193-35 to 37 ; 40 to 44	

Verses included in the above table are those which do not present any metrical problem and whose metrical identity is clear. There is, however, a large number of lines which show metrical irregularities and whose readings as well as metres can be decided only on the basis of a detailed examination of the evidences available in the various manuscripts collated for the Matsya-edition, as also in the other Purāṇas where these lines may occur. This examination will of course involve a scrutiny of the internal evidence of the story and other elements of the narrative. Such a detailed discussion of all the irregular lines is taken up now, following the order of the chapters and the metres discussed. First the non.Upajāti metres are taken up.

It will be seen from the above table that outside of the Anushṭubh and the Upajāti, twenty metres are used in the Matsya. Among these 20, there are both common and comparatively rarer metres. A glance at the frequency shows that Vasantatilakā is employed largest after Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti. Vaṁśastha and Pushpitāgrā come next. The next places are taken by mālinī and Ruchirā. Two of these metres are, it may be noted. mentioned by their name, the Bhramaravilasita which occurs only in one clear case and the Toṭaka.

पुन्नागेषु द्विजगणविरुतं रक्ताशोकस्तवकभरनमितम् ।
रम्योपान्तश्रमहरपवनं फुल्लाब्जेषु भ्रमरविलसितम् ॥ [180-43]
यः पठेत्तोटकं दिव्यं प्रयतः शुचिमानसः ।
बाणस्येव यथा रुद्रस्तस्यापि वरदो भवेत् ॥ [188-72]

(At the end of a sequence of Toṭaka verses)

Pāda 2 of the above Bhramavilasita has one laghu in excess in most mss, but three mss. have readings which are metrically correct. viz., स्तवकविनमितम् or स्तवकभरनतम् ।

Of Sragviṇī alone it should be noted that the entry in the above table is based not on the ĀSS. text but on the reconstructed text for which please see the article in the first number of this Bulletin, already referred to.

Another point to be noted is that, as in the case of Anushṭubhs, which are found in epics in three Ardhas sometimes, we find in Matsya, some of those non-Anuṣṭubh aud non-Upajāti verses also in three Ardhas; thus we find Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Drutavilambita, Vaṁśastha and Ruchirā, having occassionally three Ardhas.

The references and numbers given in the above table refer only to cases in which the respective metres are correct in all the four pādas. There are indeed a few cases of verses in the metres in the above table in which there is admixture in one pāda. or more rarely in one Ardha, of a different metre and there are also other cases, more numerous, in which the metre, one among these in the above table, is clear but owing to defective readings there are metrical flaws. Such numbers are not included in the above table, as they will all be discussed now.

77.17-a

This verse is in Pushpitāgrā except for the first quarter in which the ĀSS. gives the fifth syllable as a *guru* while it should be *laghu* :

इदमनवं श्रृणोति यः स्मरेद्वा

Nine of the Manuscripts collated read this letter as a *guru*, Eight others which retain the word अनघ here read it as a vocative, which would be alright for the metre.

100.10

Three feet of this verse (a, b and d) are incorrect Vasantatilakā but the third foot alone reads भगवन्मयाथ तनयैरथवानयापि which is hypermetric by one syllable and also opens with two shorts, while two longs are required at the beginning of a Vasantatilakā line. That this is incorrect Vasantatilakā is shown by a large number of manuscripts which read here सम्यङ्मयाथ or सद्धर्मजात। Whatever the variants here, according to a majority of manuscripts, the third foot opens correctly as a Vasantatilakā. All the nine manuscripts which read with ĀSS. भगवन्मयाथ are Devanāgarī manuscripts. The Ujjain Śāradā

also reads similarly. The North Indian scribes probably read according to their vocal habit भगवन् as भग्वन् without intermediate 'a' being sounded and consequently felt no metrical defect; or a more likely explanation is that the scribe was attracted to the succeeding lines which are in Pramitāksharā, for the line under discussion upto भगवन् मयाथतनयैरथवा will answer to Pramitāksharā.

That 10-c is incorrect Vasantatilakā and its reading at the opening may be सम्यङ्मयाथ is confirmed also by the Bhavishya Purāṇa. Uttara Parvan 85, where this episode occurs, as also the sequence of verses upto verse 10 of the ĀSS.

100-11, 12

The lines numbered 11 to 12 in ĀSS. really contain five lines. Of these, the first three lines are printed like Vasantatilakā, the second of these being in correct Vasantatilakā and the first and the third agreeing with Vasantatilakā except for the opening two syllables, which are short, thus being similar to the third foot of verse 10 discussed above. But the solution indicated by the readings for these lines lies in a totally different direction. It would appear that instead of being mislections for Vasantatilakā they are really Pramitāksharās which have been re-written with some fillers to give Vasantatilakā. Nine of the manuscripts open 11-a with मुनिरुवाच, suggesting that this portion stands for the interlocutor i.e. sage Prāchetasa, and does not form part of the verse proper. One of our sources has instead of मुनिरुवाच, 'प्रचेताः', thus supperting the assumption that this portion of the line stands for the speaker and does not form part of the verse. But 18 other manuscripts, including the Oriyā, the Śāradā and the Grantha, support the opening with two *laghus*–मुनि, thus authenticating a metre different form Vasantatilakā.

12-a and c also begin with two *laghus* in the same manner and the last two pādas in this series do not have any touch of Vasantatilakā and are wholly in Pramitāksharā.

अभिसङ्गता परमभीष्टतमा
विमुखी महीश तव योषिदियम् ।

This last line of the series in correct Pramitāksharā gives the clue to the re-construction of the whole series of five lines and justify our assumption that the additional words making up the required syllables for Vasantatilakā are fillers. Our assumption is supported by the readings of our manuscripts as we shall see presently.

We shall take line by line. In 10-a, b, only nine manuscripts read a word समीक्ष्य as the concluding part of a partial Vasantatilakā-pāda. All the other manuscripts stop the pāda with भवान्तरितं । Then पृथ्वीपते:, with two *gurus* to give a correct opening to Vasantatilakā, second pāda, is read in all the other manuscripts, 18 in number, as पृथिवीपते: (or पथिवीमिमां in two of them) to accord with the Pramitāksharā. The further part of 10-b is also read in all these 18 manuscripts differently giving a correet Pramitāksharā; thus this line would read according to these manuscripts as

मुनिरभ्यधादथ (मुनिरप्यवाद्यथ) (मुनिरभ्यभाषत) भवान्तरितं
पृथिवीपतेरवगमय्य कथां (समधिगम्य कथां) (समवगम्य कथाम्) ।

11—c, d read in ĀSS. and three other manuscripts as a correct Vasantatilakā with an identical text. Three other manuscripts read the line as Vasantatilakā, though with slight difference of reading. But the bulk of the manuscript evidence is against Vasantatilakā. 21 manuscripts which include the Śāradā, the Oriyā, the Grantha and the Malayālam manuscripts, read c and d with *laghu*-openings and as Pramitāksharā lines. Thus according to these manuscripts, 11-c and d would read

तव जन्म लुब्धककुले परुषा
मतिरप्यनेकजनघातकरी ।

12—a, b represent a mixture of the two metres like 10-a, b. Here again the manuscript evidence gives us help to restore the correct Pramitāksharā readings. As even the ĀSS. edition

opens 12-a as a Pramitākshara, we have to examine only the evidence for the ending of 12-a and the opening of 12-b. All the manuscripts close 12-a correctly as Pramitākshara though with slight differences in the readings as पुरुषं, परुषं or वपुषाम्. The words अङ्गसन्धि: added to give the Vasantatilakā-finish are really part of the opening of the second pāda i. e. 12-b. Here the manuscripts are divided in the actual readings but not on the metrical character. The majority open 12-b as वृजिनाङ्गसन्धि with a lesser number reading प्रथिताङ्गसन्धि, पतिताङ्गसन्धि, पुरुषाङ्गसन्धि, अतिपूतिगन्धि, and विचितं विगन्धि. The latter part of 12-b read as Vasantatilakā in ĀSS. सत्त्व भुजगावरणं समन्तात् is very scarcely supported. Only two manuscripts read at the end समन्तात् or प्रजानां to give a Vasantatilakā-finish. In all the other manuscripts these three extra syllables are totally absent. On the basis of the manuscript evidence, 12-b may be restored in correct Pramitākshara as वृजिनाङ्गसन्धिकुनखाभरणम् । वृजिन in वृजिनाङ्गसन्धि is to be taken in the sense of कुटिल or crooked. दुर्गन्धि and सत्त्व of ĀSS. are fillers to give Vasantatilakā finish.

12—c, न च ते सुहृत्सुतवन्धुजन: is correct Pramitākshara. न तात: added to this to give a Vasantatilakā-end is to be dropped, as manuscripts do not support it. On the other hand the manuscripts read here न पिता in the same sense but as opening the second half of the verse in Pramitākshara. 12-d may therefore be restored as न पिता सखा न जननी च तदा with some slight variations regarding च for न or तथा in one manuscript for तदा.

12–e, f offer no difficulties regarding their correct metre which is Pramitākshara.

The manuscripts evidently gave trouble as all this metrical conufsion shows and the Bhavishyottara solved the difficulty by putting the ideas relating to the former hunter-birth in a few Anuṣṭubh lines after which the Bhavishyottara agrees textually with Matsya (the Upajāti beginning with 13).

69–63.

Pādas 1,2, 3 of this verse are in correct Pushpitāgrā. The fourth pāda forms a mixed line whose metrical identity is not

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clear. Not only does any of the manuscripts offer any reading to reconstruct them into correct Pushpitāgrā, but in Padma (Ch. 23; Sl. 72) where the whole section occurs gives the identical reading अलमुद्धर्तुमिहैव यः करोति । The Anvaya of the verse itself is somewhat Intriguing and metrically this last foot is hyper-metric by one syllable for Viyoginī and for an even pāda of Pushpitāgrā, it falls short of one syllable; also its fourth and fifth syllables, both long, do not accord with Pushpitāgrā.

69-64.

It is metrically to be accepted as Pushpitāgrā. Its only discrepancy is in the first pāda. where as it is, it is hyper-metric, by two syllables. In the Padma, the line is read as follows in a slightly defective Pushpitāgrā—इदमनघं शृणोति चातिभक्त्या Our manuscripts disclose readings which though they differ among themselves, give the correct Pushpitāgrā in all cases, Thus according to the Ms. readings, the line could read य इदमघविदारणं शृणोति, without भक्त्या though, in this case, we have to acquiesce in the Pādānta-laghu, or we could read the line as य इदमनु शृणोति चाति भक्त्या (Ms. Tg), or it could also be read as इदमनघ शृणोति चाति भक्त्या (Ms. - N) with 'यः' as understood. The Padma reading could really be the last one, the अनघं there being a mistake for अनघ

133-68

This is cast in Aparavaktra. But the first and the last pādas alone are correct. The manuscripts no doubt have many variants but none of a definitely directive nature which would enable us to re-construct the second and third pādas into correct Aparavaktras. Apart from the metre, the sense has to be taken into account in restoring the lines here. In the third and the fourth pādas, the readings which have both काञ्चनाचलः and अद्रिः are guilty of redundance. For the last foot, there are clews supported by atleast four manuscripts which do not have अद्रिः but read अपरः in some form, thus giving us the line व्रजति सपक्ष इवापरोऽम्बरे. The subject of the verse is 'Śiva's *Ratha*. We may take that it is compared to the

golden mountain Meru moving in the air. As mountains are fabled to have had wings, the epithet in the fourth pāda is alright. To justify this element of comparison with the winged Meru, the Ratha has to possess brilliant appearance as well as flying banners. On the basis of such a meaning, we might re-construct päda 3 which now reads वचनविशेषैर्विचित्र-भूषणैः and which the bulk of the variants read in one compound वचनविशेषविचित्रभूषणैः Here वचन might be re-constructed into वसन to give the sense of banners which are described in verse 38 above. It might be that without construing वसनविशेषविचित्रभूषणैः with chariot in the next line, the scribes might have made the change वचनविशेषैः against the metre, to give an easier construction with the preceding verb प्रतुष्टुवुः. Line 3 is really difficult of restoration. The 'ग' reading noted in the Āss. seems to be an effort at reconstruction to accord with the sense and metre—त्रिपुरमथरथश्च काञ्चनो, 'matha' here meaning मथन and refering to Śiva. Another possible re-construction on the basis of the variants in the manuscripts is त्रिपुरमपि रथस्स काञ्चनो. In either of these cases, the word अचल having been removed from the third foot, the reading अद्रिः has to be retained in the last quarter. But it must be said that editorial conscience is not easy and the line has to be discussed further.

(To be continued)

THE OLD-JAVANESE BRAHMAṆḌA PURAṆA

By

J. Gonda, Utrecht

[अस्मिंल्लेखे हालेंडदेशीयविद्वान् श्रीखोण्डामहोदयः वलिद्वीपे प्राप्तस्य प्राचीनकविभाषायां गद्यरूपेण संक्षिप्यानूदितस्य ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य विवरणं ददत् तस्यांशानां मूलसंस्कृतब्रह्माण्डपुराणेन सह तथा तत्सदृशीं पाठपरम्परामुपनिबध्नता वायुपुराणेनापि तुलनां कुर्वन् पाठविषयिकां समीक्षामतिशयकौशलपुरस्सरं विदधाति । यवदेशाद् उपलब्धानुवादे अन्तरान्तरा वहवः संस्कृतपद्यांशा अपि प्राप्यन्ते । तेषामत्र विचारः कृतः । श्रीखोण्डामहोदयः यवदेशीयब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य मूलपाठं तस्य डचभाषायामनुवादं च भागद्वये १९३२-१९३३ ईसवीये प्रकाशितवान् ।

The first scholar to draw attention to the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa was R. Friederich, who in his well-known 'Provisional Report of the Isle of Bali[2]', brought, in the year 1847, the important fact to the notice of the learned world that a great number of valuable Old-Javanese adaptations of original Sanskrit texts were preserved and transmitted in that last refuge of Hindu civilization in the Indian Archipelago. During his sojourn on Bali the meritorious Dutch scholar Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk collected many manuscripts of this Purāṇa, which were, after his death in 1894, sent to the Netherlands. They were utilized by Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud in his book 'Tantu Panggêlaran[3]. The Purāṇa was edited and translated into Dutch by the present author[4].

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1. This article is an abridged adaptation of a publication written in German (Einige Mitteilungen über das altjavanische Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa) and published in the periodical Acta Orientalia, volume 11, p. 218-259; Leiden 1932.

2. Published in Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 22 and 23.

3. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, De Tantu Pangêlaran, Thesis Leiden 1924; see p. 310-319 (the contents of the purāṇa, written in Dutch).

4. J. Gonda, Het oud-javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (I, edited and annotated, Bandung 1932; II, translation, Bandung 1933).

Like other Old-Javanese texts.–e.g. many parvans of the Mahābhārata–the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa is an abridged prose translation of an original Sanskrit work– or a translation of an abridged form of the original Sanskrit—written in the usual śloka style. The Javanese versions follow those Sanskrit passages which were borrowed and translated very closely, although the numbers of variants and other minor deviations from the Sanskrit texts which were handed down in India are considerable[5]. Although these Javanese texts are much shorter than the corresponding Sanskrit works, they do not, generally speaking, omit, from the chapters which they contain, what is essential. Superfluities such as epithets, adjectives, repetitions etc., are as a rnle left out. What is specially interesting is that many ślokas, double or single pādas were literally borrowed and at irregular intervals interspersed in the Javanese text. Most of them are followed by a literal translation or by an interpretation of the words and phrases which they contain. It may be supposed that these literal quotations owe their existence to the threefold desire to establish and guarantee the authenticity of the translation, to enable the reader to consult the original text in those parts of the narrative which were considered the most important—perhaps also to make him dwell on their tenor and purport—, and in the third place to facilitate references to the original text, to assist the reader in finding the corresponding places in the same. Moreover, the number of quotations not infrequently increases in difficult places even so as to follow each other without any other interruption than the Javanese translation: this procedure may be considered a remnant of a more ancient translational technique rather than an argument in favour of the supposed antiquity of the relative portions of the text.

The importance of these Sanskrit quotations is self-evident :

5. The reader may be referred to the notes added to my edition. On the relation between the Old-Javanese version of the IVth book of the Mahābhārata and the Indian Virāṭaparvan the Danish scholar K. Wulff wrote a very meritorious book (in Danish) : Den Oldjavanske Wirāṭaparwa og dens Sanskrit-Original, Copenhagen 1916.

they constitute fragments of an independent tradition of these texts which may go back to about the tenth century A.D. They have however, very unfortunately, been handed down in a much corrupted form. It would be a wrong method–which was however adopted by H. H. Juynboll, the editor of most of the Old-Javanese parvans of the Great epic– to attempt to emend these ślokas and pādas by substituting the corresponding words or groups of words found in the Indian Sanskrit texts. The present writer endeavoured to reconstruct these quotations as accurately as possible without mingling them with foreign elements, that is to say; he attempted to restore that form of the Sanskrit text which was used by the Old-Javanese translator or author.

It is however not only worth while to compare all these quotations with the corresponding passages of the Indian texts in order to establish the character of the Javanese work and its relations to the Indian purāṇas as accurately as possible, it is also necessary to analyse the Javanese work in its entirety, to ascertain which parts of the Indian Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa are contained in it and in which order they are given and to draw up a list of all deviations, correspondences with other purāṇas and so on, and to study its composition.

It is an interesting coincidence that this Javanese text is closely related to that pair of Indian purāṇas which have large portions of their contents in common, the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu. According to the German scholar W. Kirfel both works originally formed a unity[6] and by means of a concordance of their chapters the same scholar was indeed able to distinguish between the common nucleus of the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu and the individual accretions and particular chapters of either text. A close comparison of the Javanese book leads us to the conclusion that it is on the one hand unmistakably related to this Indian Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu recension, and on the other hand in many respects different from it. It may therefore be considered a

6. See W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, Bonn 1927, p. X ff.

valuable source of knowledge for those studying the history of the text, i. e., the textual tradition, of the purāṇas.

It will be our task here to examine the structure of the Javanese work and to draw attention to those particulars which may shed light on its relations to the Sanskrit text as well as on the interrelations of the Sanskrit purāṇas themselves.

I. The introduction deals, mainly in agreement with the Sanskrit Vāyupurāṇa—there are some minor deviations and some places which may be regarded as interpolations—with the sacrifice of the great king Adhisīmakṛishṇa, the great-grandson of Janamejaya[7]. Among the many brahmans and scholars who attended that ceremony was bhagavān Romaharshaṇa who at the request of the brahmans proceeds to narrate the Manuvaṃśa-krama, including the purāṇic stories and traditions which are to follow. OJav. Bmḍpur. p. 48, 5—p. 53, 30 corresponds, generally speaking, to Vāpur, 1, 80-28 ; some stanzas are quoted in full or partly ; the order of the stanzas is not always the same ; some verses are not represented in the Javanese text. Vāpur. 1, 1–9 are completely missing[8].

II. Romaharshaṇa commences his discourse by describing the creation of the universe, the first question corresponding to Vāpur. 4, 17 and Bmḍpur. 1, 3, 8. The Sanskrit account followed by the Javanese author must have been rather detailed. After having described the Pradhāna the text proceeds to inform the reader about the Creator : Rudra, Kāla, Antaka, adding some notices about the emanation of mahān, ahaṁkāra, ekādaś-endriya, tanmātrā, mahābhūta and the origin of the cosmic egg. The next topics are the creation of the nine devarshis, the birth of Rudra, the well-known story connected with this name (cf. Vā. ch. 27 ; Bmḍ. ch. 10), the origin of Saṁkalpa and Dharma (Vā. 9, 71 ff), the creation of the gods, asuras, pitaras,

7. See F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London 1922, p. 52: 182.

8. For a complete concordance see the above article in the Acta Orientalia where references are given to W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa.

men etc. The first quotation contained in this section corresponds to Vā. 4, 17 and Bmḍ. 1, 3, 8, the last to Vā. 9, 52-53 and Bmḍ. 1, 8, 54-55.

III. After some details about the chronology of creation, the origin of the four varṇas etc. the text dwells on the birth of Svāyambhuva Manu and Śatarūpā, who after having arisen from Brahmā's body, married and generated Rati etc.: the narrative runs paralled to Bmḍ. 1, 9, 32 ff.; Vā. 10, 8 ff. On closer examination the Javanese version appears to be shorter and to present, in place, the topics in a different order. Part of the sentences of the Javanese work are literal translations of Sanskrit ślokas contained in Bmḍ. and Vā, very often however the translation creates the impression of being an abridgment: instead of the śloka labdhvā tu purushaḥ patnīṃ Śatarūpam ayonijām / tayā sa ramate sārdhaṁ tasmāt sā ratir uchyate, it limits itself, for instance, to: "they united and had a child, Rati". Elsewhere some details are omitted. Curiously enough, the passage dealing with Daksha's wife Prasūti and her twenty-four children (Old Jav. text p. 58, l. 21 ff) agrees more closely with the short redaction of this episode found in the Kūrmapur. (8, 15) prasūtyāṃ cha tathā dakshaś chatasro viṁśatiṃ tathā / sasarja kanyā nāmāni tāsāṃ samyag nibhodhata (cf. also Garuḍpur. 5, 24, a etc.) than with the more detailed Bmḍ. (1, 9, 47-49) and Vā. (10, 23-24). This is not to say that the Javanese author utilized the Kūrmapurāṇa or an allied text; he may have possessed another shorter Sanskrit redaction or, what is more probable, reduced a more verbose original to the form which is now that of the Javanese work. The accouut of Daksha's thirteen daughters who become the wives of Dharma is, though not perfectly plain, in any case more succinct than the paralled narrative in the Indian texts; superfluous adjectives are for instance omitted. In the Sanskrit Bmḍ. the ninth chapter ends after the episode of the Sahasrarudra, the Vā. inserts, after 10, 67, the Pāśupatayoganirūpaṇam and many other episodes to return to the genealogical account in chapter 27. The passage devoted to Rudra's eight names and bodies

which now follows, had already been inserted in the Javanese text at an earlier place (see above, II). In Bmḍ. ch. 11 and Vā. ch. 28 the Javanese text runs parallel : the genealogy of the nine ṛishis. When the narrative has reached the figure of Agni (Bmḍ. 1, 11, 44 ; Vā. 28, 38) the Javanese author observes : "No mention will be made of Agni". Was it he who omitted this passage ? Or do these words as well as the omission itself originate with the author or redactor of the Sanskrit text which he consulted ? It is in this connection worth noticiug that this episode is, in the Mārkaṇḍeyapur., dispatched in only three stanzas (52, 27-29). Anyhow the Agnivaṁśavarṇanam (Bmḍ. 12 ; Vā. 29) is not in the Old-Javanese work. The short note on the pitaras (Bmḍ. 1, 13, 1 ff. ; Vā. 30, 1 ff.) is, in contradistinction to the story of Velā and Dharaṇī (Bmḍ. 1, 13, 34 ff. ; Vā. 30, 28 ff.), likewise missing.

IV. The next episode, the Dakshaśāpavarṇanam (Bmd. 1, 13, 44 ff., Vā. 30, 62 ff.), exhibits some minor deviations from the two Indian texts. The stanzas 30, 79 ff. of Vā. which do not occur in the Indian Bmd. fail also to turn up in the Javanese text, which is likewise silent on the next subject, the Devavaṁśavarṇanam (Bmḍ. 1, 13, 87-151 ; Vā. 31). Vā. 32, the Yugadharmāḥ, does however not recur in either Bmḍ. text.

V. Page 68, 1. 2 ff. of the Javanese book, containing the Kshatriyasarga, i. e. the genealogy of Manu Svāyambhuva, corresponds to Bmḍ. 1, 14, Vā. 33. Manu's seven grandsons are appointed kings of the seven dvīpas, The description of Jambūdvīpa (Bmḍ. 1, 15 ; Vā 34, 1-57 ; 43, 1-9 ; 45, 1-20 a) and the ogranisation of the world are therefore, naturally enough, in the Indian texts the next topics to be discussed, This arrangement of the text is rational and in harmony with the chronological principle which, according th Kirfel[9], guided the redactor of the Indian Bmḍ.-Vā. text. The Javanese version, however, goes its own way. P. 71, 22 ff. it reads : "In the way the kshatriyas were created in the beginning of the Tretā period at the time of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. The 11 Rudras, the

9. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, p. XVII.

12 Ādityas, the 8 Vasus, the 12 Sādhyas, the 10 Viśvadevas, the 10 Aṅgiras, the 12 Bhārgavas, the 49 Maruddevas make their appearance, alternately". These names occur in several Indian purāṇas, e.g. Mārkpur. 79, 1[10]. The Javanese author continues: "now the lifetime of the gods, asuras, gandharvas, piśāchas, yakshas, rākshasas, will be narrated", adding a quotation which resembles Bmḍ. 1, 32, 1 a; Vā. 59, 1a. The chapters Bmḍ. 15, 31 and Vā. 34-58 are therefore not in the Javanese purāṇa. As there exists a certain similarity between the last stanzas of Vā. 33; Bmḍ. 14 and the beginning of Vā. 59 and Bmḍ. 32, one may imagine that there once existed a Sanskrit text in which these two passages were not separated by so many other chapters. The description of Jambūdvīpa etc., which in Bmḍ. and Vā. follow the Svāyambhuvavaṁśavarṇanam, constitutes, on the other hand, together with the latter, one undivided whole also in Vipur. 2, 1; Agnipur. 107; 108; Mārkpur. 53; 54 and other works[11]. In the Javanese text, however, the geography of Jambūdvīpa is, as will be stated further on, to appear at a later place.

VI. P. 72, 1 ff. of the Javanese purāṇa correspond to Bmḍ. 1, 32, 1 ff., Vā. 59, 1 ff. containing the yugaprajālakshaṇam ṛishipravaravarṇanam. The duration of the life of gods, demons, men, the mahāpralaya, the śishṭas, dharma, āśramas, saptarshis, Vedas, stotras, the four faces of Brahmā etc. are discussed at some length.

VII. Bmḍ. 33 containing brāhmaṇapravaktṛīṇām ṛishīṇāṃ nāmāni, mantralakshaṇaṃ mantrāṇāṁ navavidhatvam, punas teshāṁ chaturviṁśatibhedāḥ, vidhiśabdanirvachanam, is missing. It is interesting to notice that the Vāyu Purāṇa as edited in the Ānandāśram series is considerably (25 stanzas) longer than the same text according to the edition in the Bibliotheca Indica. Although the end of Vā. (B. Ind.) 59 (this ch. 59 corresponds to Bmḍ. ch. 32 and 33) deviates form Bmḍ., the curious fact remains that Vā. B. I. also passes on immediately to the subjects

10. See also H. H. Wilson-F. E. Hall, The Vishṇu Purāṇa, III, p. 14 f.
11. See also Kirfel, Bhāratavarṣa, Stuttgart 1931, p. 3: 10 etc.

dealt with in Bmḍ. ch. 34. However, the contents of Bmḍ 33 are, in the Javanese work, to follow further on (p. 14 ff.). Although the subject-matter of Bmḍ. 34 is, generally speaking, adequately represented in the translation, it is worth observing that there is in this section not only between the latter and Bmḍ., but also between Bmḍ. and Vā. much diversity in details.

VIII. The episode of the pupils of Devamitra Śākalya and Śākapūrṇi. (Jav. p. 88, 22-89, 5 ; Bmḍ. 35, 1-4 ; Vā. 60, 63-66 a) is in Vā. followed by another short section (st. 66 b-75) which is missing in both Bmḍ. redactions. The next subjects are the division of the Yajurveda, Vaiśampāyana's brahmahatyā and the behaviour of Yājñavalkya, who after having vomited forth the Yajur text which he had acquired obtains a new Veda from Āditya ; next come the 86 other pupils of Vaiśampāyana etc. Many names occur in a different form. A curious place is p. 90, 1 (cf. Bmḍ. 1, 35, 20 ; Vā. 61, 17) : whereas according to both Indian works Yājñavalkya after Vaiśampāyana's request brahmahatyāṃ charadhvaṃ vai matkṛite, is willing to obey (aham ekaś charishyāmi tishṭhantu munayas tv ime...) the Javanese text puts a refusal into his mouth : cf. Vipur. 3, 6, 7 athāha yājñavalkyas taṃ kim ebhir bhagavan dvijaiḥ / ... charishye 'ham idam vratam.

IX. The next section deals with the ṛiṣis of the four Vedas, the Brāhmaṇīs who knew the Vedas, the maharshis, the mantras and their use and the "tenfold use of the brāhmaṇa". These subjects had, with considerable differences as to details, found a place in Bmḍ. ch. 33. The very fact that Vā., as already noticed, strikes out a line for itself, may probably point to the Indian, not an Indonesian origin of this deviation.

X. The preceding section constitutes an interruption of the narrative contained in Bmḍ. ch. 35 and Vā. ch. 61 : the last stanzas represented in the Javanese purāṇas before the interruption are 35, 66 ; 61, 58. Now the threads of the story are gathered up with 35, 70 ; 61, 61 to inform the reader of the

number of ṛichas and sāmāni, the Śākhābhedas of the Veda, the families of devarshis and rājarshis, the lokas attained by them, their qualities and peculiarities. The names of the 28 brahmarshis who in the times of Manu Vaivasvata are engaged in dividing and transmitting the Veda are enumerated. The study of the sacred texts in Tretāyuga etc.. the succession of the Manus, their asceticism; the saṃhāra and the alternation of Brahmā's nights and Brahmā's days, the duration of the Manvantaras, the events at the end of Kaliyuga and allied subjects join the above subjects. P. 104, 20-28 deserves special attention, because it contains a quotation (1. 26) bhavaty ā bhūtasaṃplavāt which I was not able to trace in the related texts. Here also Vāpur. deviates from the Indian Bmḍ. (before 61, 104 a : 1' 35, 125 b). When the Javanese author has (p. 112, 30) reached Bmḍ. 1, 35, 201 and Vā. 61, 172 he observes: "like that the narrative goes in the prakriyāpāda of the Brahmāṇḍasaṁhitā, as told by the reverend Vyāsa". Now, the expression praktiyāpāda does not, in this connection, appear to occur outside the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa texts, where it refers to one of their four divisions called prakriyā, anushaṅga, upodghāta and upasaṁhāra[12]. What is however strange is that the prakriyāpāda does not, in Bmḍ. and Vā., end here but much earlier, viz. at the end of ch. Bmḍ. 5, Vā, 6. Besides, the stanza Bmḍ. 1, 35, 67; Vā. 61. 59 which inform us of the fourfold arrangement of the mūlasaṃhitās (sarvās tā hi chatushpādāḥ; cf. also Vā. 32, 64 catushpādaṃ purāṇaṃ tu brahmaṇā vihitaṃ purā) does not recur in the Javanese purāṇa, to which the fourfold character is therefore unknown. Is this fact due to a mere coincidence, occasioned by the loss of some stanzas in connection with the different order of the sections? Or was the fourfold arrangement really unknown in the Sanskrit text utilized by the Javanese author? How then to explain the occurrence of the term prakriyāpāda in this place? These questions are not devoid of importance. because two meritorious specialists in purāṇic research, Pargiter and Kirfel[13] regarded the fourfold

12. See Pargiter, o. c., p. 23 f.
13. See Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, p. XIX.

division of the Vā.-Bmḍ. text as a matter of great moment. Whereas the former was of the opinion that it was an old division of the subject-matter that was preserved in these two purāṇas, Kirfel would prefer to regard it as having originated with the redactor who applied this principle of arrangement to the pre-existing svbject-matter. Does then the Old-Javanese text not go back to the redactor who arranged the common nucleus of our Indian Bmḍ.-Vā, text, and who must, according to Kirfel. have 'edited' his text between ±335 and ±620 A.D.? Or must we conclude the existence of recensions or traditions which were independent of that redactor? The Javanese text may have been written in the 10th century. We may now ask: when was the text written or composed on which it is founded?

XI. The next section which is rather long deals with the other Manus and the descendants of Svāyaṃbhuva. Among the latter was Dhruva, who married Bhūmi, One of the scions of this ancient race was Vena. His history is, like that of his son Pṛithu, narrated at considerable length (up to p. 128, l. 21). The Javanese tradition is now in agreement with Bmḍ., then with Vā.; then again it exhibits variants of its own. Although the narrative itself, in this chapter, speaking generally runs parallel to Bmḍ.–Vā., the number of minor deviations is considerable. This fact is of special interest, because, if Kirfel[14] is right in contending that the Bmḍ.–Vā. redaction of the Vena-Pṛithu episode, as opposed to the recension of the same subject-matter occurring in Brahmapur., Harivaṁśa and Śiva-Dharmasaṁhitā, gives unmistakable evidence of the activity of a redactor, the question again arises whether the text utilized by the Javanese scholar who translated the work was not founded on the text of that redactor? As however the stories of Vena and Pṛithu do not, as is the case in Brahmapur., Hariv., Śivadh., occur separately in two different parts of the work but form one uninterrupted narrative which moreover occurs there where it is placed in Bmḍ. Vā., the conclusion seems to be inevitable that there the Javanese

14. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, p. XXXIV.

text betrays the activity of the same redactor who according to Kirfel, arranged the Indian Bmḍ.–Vā. text. Whereas, however, in Bmḍ.-Vā. this narrative is continued after the description of the milking trees (Jav. p. 128, 16 ff. : Bmḍ. 1, 36, 224; Vā. 62, 191), to end not before Bmḍ. 37, 22 and Vā. 63, 21, the author of the Javanese book suddenly passes on to the geographic section which constitutes, in Bmḍ. ch. 1, 15 and in Vā. ch. 34, viz. to the Jambūdvīpavarṇanam, the Bhuvanavinyāsaḥ and part of the Jyotiḥpracharaḥ. How should we explain this different disposition of the subject–matter ? How should we harmonize this remarkable transposition or, at least, this difference in order, with the above supposition that there has been a redactor who arranged the common Bmḍ.-Vā. text ?

XII. Bmḍ. 1, 15–24; Vā. 34–54 and Matsyapur. 112–128 constitute a large, coherent treatise on geography and cosmography, Vā. and Bmḍ. containing passages which are not found in Matsya and Vā. exhibiting groups of verses which are missing in both Bmḍ. and Matsya. The introduction to this treatise contained in the Jav. text (p. 128, 22 ff.) refers to "bhaṭṭāra Bāyu", i. e. "the Lord Vāyu" as an authority : cf. the beginning of Bmḍ. 1, 15; Vā. 34; Mt. 112. The subjects dealt with are Jambūdvīpa, its mountains, especially the Meru, the region called Ilāvṛita, the saptavarsha of Jambūdvīpa etc.; with a description of Kuruvarsha this section reaches its close.

XIII. Next comes in all four texts the description of Bhāratavarsha or India (Jav. p. 136, 30–143, 4); Vā. is alone in presenting to readers the passage 45, 20 b–66. The order of the stanzas occurring in Bmḍ. Vā. is also that of the Javanese account. What is of special interest is that the line Bmḍ. 1, 16, 8; Vā. 45, 78 samudrāntaritā jñeyās te (sc. the nine regions of Bhāratavarsha) tv agamyāḥ parasparam cannot be traced in the Jav. text : according to Kirfel[15], this line does not fit in with the purāṇic theory of the circular shape of Jambūdvīpa, its division in parallel zones and the segmentary shape of

15. Kirfel, Bhāratavarṣa, p. 12.

Bhāratavarṣa. It is improbable that this line ever belonged to the Javanese redaction, because all other stanzas of this portion of the text are represented in it. There is moreover another text without this line, the Indian Matsyapurāṇa. Another remarkable coincidence concerns the stanzas Bmḍ. 1, 16, 20 b–23 a; Vā. 45, 90–92 b: they recur neither in the Jav. version nor in the account presented by the Mbh. 6, 9 and the Padmapur. 3, 6. On p. 141, l. 11 we come across the place quoted by Rājaśekhara Kāvyamīm. 17 (±900 A. D.), which may furnish us with a 'terminus ante quem' with regard to this geographic treatise. Unfortunately the Javanese text is corrupt here.

XIV. The next section deals with the other varshas of Jambūdvīpa (Kiṃpurushavarsha etc.), the asceticism of Bhagīratha and the descent of Gaṅgā, a number of rivers and lakes, the Vaḍabāmukha or Aurvāgni. At the end of the description of the mountains Nishadha and Nila (p. 146, 13), which is the end of the chapters Bmḍ. 1, 17, Vā. 46, Matsya 113; the Javanese author says that he will pass on to another subject. This is not the only trace of an ancient divison in his work From this point the Matsyapur. takes its own course, to recur to the same subjects in ch. 120 (121). Curiously enough the quotation Jav. p. 152, 12 yasyāṃ jāmbūnadaḥ smṛitaḥ has more in common with Matsya 120, 67 b rather than with Bmḍ. 1, 18, 69 a; Vā. 47, 66 b.

XV. Next come the descriptions of the other dvīpas: Śākadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa etc., of the oceans between them, the circular Lokāloka-mountain range which surrounds the outermost of these seven seas and divides the visible word from the region of darkness, the concentric 'regions' outside etc. (up to p. 17, 14). The same subject is dealt with in many other purāṇas, which, however, with regard to the arrangement of dvīpas and oceans divide into three groups: a) Bmḍ., Vā. and other texts (among these Vā. has some peculiarities of its own);

16. See Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, P. 56 ff., 112 ff.

b) Bhsvishya-, Matsya-, Varāhapur.; c) Padmapur. and Mahābhārata 16). Now, the Javanese purāṇa does not join its Indian namesake, but the second group. In Bmḍ. 1, 19 and Vā. 49 the order of the continents is Plaksha, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śāka, Pushkara, according to the Javanese tradition the Matsyapur. etc. it is: Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śālmali, Gomeda, Pushkara. Moreover, the names as well as the order of the oceans between these continents are the same in Matsya etc. and in the Javanese work, which have, in addition to this, also some other peculiarities in common. It is worth while to dwell on this point, because it is of special interest in connection with the problem of the interrelation of the purāṇas. Whereas the names belonging to the first dvīpa of the above group b are to a considerable extent in harmony with those of the first dvīpa as mentioned in group a [17], and whereas also the names belonging to the second dvīpas as given in both groups of texts are similar or even identical, the names of the third dvīpa as given in group b resemble those of the fourth dvīpa in group a. Moreover, all mountains, regions and rivers of the first and the second continent have, in Matsya and to a great extent also in Varāha, two names. The names of the fifth continent of group a (Śākadvīpa) are largely similar to the second series of Śakadvīpa in group b (where Śakadvīpa is the first continent): the names belonging to the third dvīpa are generally speaking identical with those of the second series of the second continent in group b (Kuśadvīpa). One can hardly escape the impression that in the second group of texts the dvīpa names have been transposed, and that a redactor has, afterwards, added the 'correct' names— i. e. the names which in the first group of texts were given to the mountains etc. of the continent of the same name – to the first series of names. If so, the redaction of the Matsyapur. must, in this section, be the later one. From a close examination of the texts it moreover appears that the redactor of Matsya did not only know the Bmḍ. text or at least this cosmographic treatise in the form presented by the Bmḍ., but also that he

17. For particulars see Acta Orientalia, 11, p. 248 ff.

utilized it in revising the Matsya text. The Javanese work however joins the Matsya recension of this cosmography. Again the question arises: if there has been a redactor of the Vā. Bmḍ. text to whom all Bmḍ. and Vā. texts trace back their descent, how then should we explain this deviation of the Javanese work and the text of the redactor related to each other? The similarity of Matsya and the Javanese Bmḍ. does not involve complete identity. Notwithstanding its undeniable affiliation with the Matsyapur. the Javanese work exhibits, in places, variants and even a more lucid and elaborate description which cannot be due to the phantasy or ingenuity of its Indonesian author [18]. An interesting place is, inter alia, p. 158, 1. 27, where in connection with the mountains of Krauñchadvīpa the remark is made that they have, all of them, two names but that only one is mentioned because the author becomes tired of recording. These words do not occur in the Matsyapurāṇa, where, in contradistinction to Varāha, these mountains are given only one name each. An interesting detail is, in addition to this, the occurrence of a second mountain name on p. 159. 1 – Pāvaraka: Bāmanakāra – which is also – and likewise by way of exception – given in Matsya 122, 14 [19]. There appears, further, nothing in both Matsya and the Javanese work to show that they included the gold-country at the end of the world – which is mentioned in the texts of the above group a: Bmḍ. 1, 19, 149 ff, Vā. 49, 143 ff. etc. – in their survey.

XVI. The last section deals with astronomy. That is to say that the 20th chapter of Bmḍ., which is called pṛithvīm upakramya vitalasutalādīnāṃ rasātalāṇāṃ sādhipānāṃ varṇanam or adholokavarṇanam and which corresponds to Vā. 50, 1-57 a, is not represented in the Javanese book. In this it again goes with Matsya. The beginning of this section is a translation of Matsya 123, 1 a; Bmḍ. 1, 20, 58 b; Vā. 50, 57 bata ūrdhvaṃ

18. For particulars see Acta Orientallia, 11, P. 252 ff.

19. For a discussion of this point see my edition of the Javanese Brahmāṇḍ- purāṇa, p. 339.

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pravakshyāmi sūryāchandramasor gatim : p. 167, 15. The next śloka has a stronger resemblance to Vāyu, and among the other quotations there are some which do not, in the first place, tally with the readings of the Matsyapurāṇa. Sometimes, for instance, a corresponding śloka is missing in Matsya, whereas the Indian Bmḍ, and Vā. have it. The order of the ślokas represented in the Javanese text is not always the same as in these Indian purāṇas. Generally speaking that part of this section which runs parallel to Bmḍ. 1, 21 and Vā. 1, 57 ff. has a closer resemblance to Bmḍ.-Vā., although it now and then deviates also from their traditions. Where however, after 123, 84 Matsya varies from the other Indian texts the Javanese author joined it (cf. Bmḍ. 1, 21, 108 ; Vā. 50, 161 ; Jav. p. 177, 1, 22). At p. 179, 1. 21 the author of the Javanese work declares that he now has informed his readers of the chapter which deals with Manuvaṃśa. These words do not occur in the related purāṇas, the preceding words of the Javanese text corresponding to the final stanza of Bmḍ. 1, 21 ; Vā. 50 ; Matsya 123. The contents of Bmḍ. 1, 22 are : dhruvam abhivartya sarvagrahanakṣhatrāṇāṃ paribhramaṇaṁ meghānāṁ cha vinyāsaḥ tathā sūryarathasyāpi vinyāso varṇitaḥ, the description of Dhruva which now follows in the Javanese work is however more closely related to Matsya. After the line p. 180, 12 (Matsya 124, 7 b ; Bmḍ. 1, 22, 9 ; Vā. 51, 9 a) vātānīkamayaiḥ pāśair dhruve baddhaḥ prasarpati all four texts go their various ways. The last quotation corresponds to Matsya st. 35 ; Bṃd. st. 29, Vā. st, 27 ; the last words to Bṃd. st 35 ; Vā. st. 32. In Matsya as well as Vā. Bmḍ. the narrative is continued. In the Javanese work it is however abruptly brought to a close at a point where the parallel texts do not even finish a chapter.

There are no indicia in the Indian texts which may explain this abrupt ending of the Javanese purāṇa so that the most plausible inference is that this text is incomplete. How much has been lost to us is difficult to say ; when the latter part has disappeared and through whatever cause, is completely unknown. As not all hand-written palm-leaves on which this work has

been handed down contain the whole text as far as it has been preserved, there may have been manuscripts on which the narrative continued. The manuscripts A, D, E, F, H, K, L which are "complete" have at the end a colophon, i. e. an inscription informing the reader of the title of the book etc., in which it is stated that the end work is "finished" or "complete": parisamāptam. It is on the other hand hardly credible that the author should have voluntarily terminated his work so abruptly in the middle of a meteorological exposition. A description of the pātālas and narakas might, for instance, have been added to round the translation off, even if the author died in harness. That the vaṃśānucharita, the fifth subject traditionally dealt with in purāṇas, is completely absent may, however, find its explanation in the fact that it was of little importance to the Javanese readers.

It may finally be observed that part of this Old-Javanese work – the Vena and Pṛithu episode, the geography, and part of the cosmography – has also come down to us in the form of a metrical adaptation[20]. It is in one of the manuscripts also called Pṛithuvijaya. The poet was called Ashṭaguṇa.

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20. See the edition, p. 183-225.

ŚAKAṬA AND PŪTANĀ

[शकटविवर्तनं पूतनावधश्च]

BY

JEAN HERBERT, GENEVA

[अस्मिन् लेखे कृष्णस्य शकटविवर्तनं पूतनावधश्चेति लीलाद्वयस्य आध्यात्मिकोऽर्थो व्याख्यायते। अयं देहः शकटः, तस्य य आसुरोंऽशः तदपाकरणमेव शकटविवर्तनम्। उपनिषत्सु शरीरस्य रथ इति संज्ञा। भागवतेऽपि च तद्रूपकं प्राप्यते। रथः शकटश्च तत्त्वदृष्ट्या पर्यायार्थकौ। पूतना कृष्णस्य विमातृरूपेणोपवर्णिता। मातृतत्त्वस्य एव विशेषा प्रवृत्तिः पूतना यया सा पुत्रमात्मनः पाशे एव बद्ध्वा रक्षितुमिच्छति। तदेव तस्याः पयसो विषरूपत्वम्। मातृहृदयस्य पुत्रं प्रति मुक्तिभाव एव विशोधनात्मकममृतत्वम्। मातुः सुलभं पयःपोषं प्राप्य स्वसंवर्धनमेव पुत्रेण कार्यम्।]

I. ŚAKAṬA

Main sources : Prem Sāgar VIII
Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. X, 7, 4-17
Vishṇu-Purāṇa, V, 6
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, II. 6
Brahma-vaivarta-Purāṇa IV. 12
Garga Saṁhitā

THE STORY

Krishṇa turned in His bed for the first time when He was 27 days old. The same conjunctions happened to be in the sky as on the day of His birth. Mā Yaśodā celebrated the events by giving Him the customary ceremonial bath (autthānika-kautika-āplava), with the accompaniment of instrumental (vāditra) and vocal (gīta) music and the assistance of twice-born who chanted the appropriate mantras. Helped by Yaśodā and Rohiṇī, Nanda distributed many presents to everybody; all were full of joy.

As the infant seemed sleepy, His mother put Him into His cradle in the shade under Nanda's cart (śakaṭa), which was full of pails containing milk and curds.

But the child soon woke up and began to cry for mother's milk. In all the noise, nobody heard Him. A demon was then passing by and overheard and recognised Him who had killed Pūtanā. Deciding to take revenge, he sat on the cart, and is therefore called śakaṭāsura. The cart began to groan and shake.

With his little feet tender as young shoots, Śrī Kṛishṇa kicked the cart in such a way that it fell into pieces: the wheels were wrenched from the axle, the pole (kūbara) was shattered, all the earthen pots were broken and their contents flowed out in a stream. And the asura was killed.

Attracted by the din, all gopas and gopīs hurried to the spot and could not understand what had happened. Children who had witnessed the scene described it, but nobody would believe them.

Yaśodā and Nanda suspected the action of some grasping evil spirit (graha). Vigorous gopas restored the cart to its original condition and made to it proper offerings of curds, unbroken rice, kuśa-grass and water. Nanda and Yaśodā bathed the child with waters and sacred herbs consecrated by mantras of the Ṛig, Yajur and Sāma Vedas.

COMMENTARY

Most commentators seem to think that the only object of the cart episode is to show that from His very infancy Lord Kṛishṇa was endowed with supernatural physical strength. I believe it has a far more specific meaning.

I suggest the cart represents the physical human body which is taken at the time of birth, the asura the dangers which arise from association with that body, and the overturning of the cart the action, yogic and otherwise, necessary to eliminate such dangers while retaining the body.

One striking point in all accounts of the exploit is their insistence, both explicit and implicit, on astronomical, and therefore also astrological data. It is stressed that the position of

the stars was the same as it was when the Lord actually took birth in a human body. The word graha, which designates the type of demon to which Śakaṭāsura belongs, also denotes the planets, and as we shall see later, some texts closely relate the two meanings.

That the cart, whether it is called śakata or ratha, represents the human body, is one of the most frequent symbols explicitly used in Hindu scriptures. To quote only one passage from the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa itself :

"The body is the chariot drawn by the horses which are the senses, and like the year it is moving swiftly although motionless. The two wheels are the two kinds of action (karma); the three guṇas are the flagstaff; in it the five (prāṇas) are closely knit together. Manas is the rein, buddhi the charioteer. and the heart is the seat. The dualities (dvandva) form the pole; the five receptacles are those that receive the five objects of sense and the shields are the seven dhātus".[2]

देहो रथस्त्विन्द्रियाश्वः संवत्सररथोऽगतिः । द्विकर्मचक्रस्त्रिगुणध्वजः पञ्चासुबन्धुरः ।
मनोरश्मिर्बुद्धिसूतो हृन्नीडो द्वन्द्वकूबरः । पञ्चेन्द्रियार्थप्रक्षेपः सप्तधातुवरूथकः ॥

The asura who takes his name from the very cart and must therefore be closely connected with it indeed is described as a graha a sickness-demon, i e. an entity corresponding to the physical body and its vital and mental prolongations, such as it appeared at the time of birth, and as it is affected by the position of planets at that precise time. This dependence of physical health on conditions imposed by the stars is stressed in particular by the Matsya-Purāṇa[3], which states that the performance of the three forms of grahabali frees the members of the household from all diseases.

People who narrate the episode or allude to it often loosely say that the cart was destroyed. It was not. What the Lord did was to overturn it, thereby disconnecting some of its pieces,

1. Note the reference to the movements of heavenly bodies.
2. BP, IV, 29, 18-19—
3. CCXXXLX, 1 & 45.

breaking one of them, killing the asura, and breaking at least some of the pots, at the same time spilling their contents. As a matter of fact I know of no case in which He is described as "the destroyer of the śakaṭa", but one Purāṇa describes Him as Śakaṭāsurabhañjana, He who broke and killed Śakaṭāsura[1].

Two main things therefore happened to the cart itself when overturned. The first is that the wheels were separated from the axle, and this cannot but remind us of the usual description of the jīvanmukta, who continues to live in this world just as a wheel freed from the axle of a cart in motion continues to roll along[2]. And the very definition of the wheels given in the ślokas from the Bhāgavatam quoted above fully tallies with that interpretation.

The second damage suffered by the cart is that its pole (kūbara) is shattered. The same ślokas state explicitly that the pole stands for dualities.

It would seem therefore that the means of resisting the attacks of disease which are the inevitable consequence of the possession and use of a human body are given by Śrī Kṛishṇa as twofold: (a) disconnect its activity from the effects of old karma and the creation of new karma; and (b) destroy what connects the forces which draw the chariot from the incentive supplied by dualities such as pleasure and pain.

Incidentally, or rather consequentially, the asura is killed It is noteworthy that no mention is made either of his corpse or of the disposal of it, which would mean that he could have no real separate existence apart from the chariot and his name or the absence of any individual name, confirms this view.

Another consequence of the overturning of the cart is that some categories at least of the pots were broken and their contents spilled. One commentator[3] explains with great perspicacity that the pots made of gold or silver remained whole. It was

1. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, II, 36, 24.
2. Jean Herbert, L'Enseignement de Rāmakrisna, § 978.
3. Vīrarāghavasvāmī.

therefore only those made of such absolutely pure material which did not suffer. The fact that the pots contained food-stuffs ofcourse is a further reason why the cart should be considered as the physical body, but their being destroyed evidently means that man should refuse admittance into his body to everything that would attempt to form part of it and is not received and encased in unsullied purity—which is a further recipe against disease.

It must be noted also that the word *graha* has another meaning in addition to the two we have already indicated; it refers specifically *to pots or pot-fulls*[1] Ṛishi Sadhri uses it in the latter sense, as what man can hold in a pot[2]. And the Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa refers to "libations made from three pots (graha), by making which man reaches the superiority (of the gods)"[3].

All those different meanings of the same word may well be implied in the name graha-nakshatra-tārāḥ, with which Sörensen identifies Śrī Kṛishṇa in various passages of the Mahābhārata[4].

We must note further that the cart is later restored by vigourous gopas to its original condition, although the asura no longer sits on it and the undesirable pots and their respective contents evidently do not share this reinstatement. And that must be so, because whatever dangers a physical body may bring with it, neither an ordinary man nor a Divine Incarnation can afford to dispense with it. That explains also why the gopas even perform a regular pūjā before it, as before any highly valuable tool.

II. Pūtanā

Main Sources : Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, X, 6
Prem Sāgar, 7
Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa, IV. 10
Harivaṁśa, II. 6
Vishṇu-Purāṇa, V. 5.
Garga Saṁhitā,

1. Grassmann, sub. voc.
2. Rv, V. 44. 10.
3. Śatapatha.
4. Mahābhārata,

The Story

Sent by Kaṁsa, the frightful Pūtanā, the killer of infants, (bāla), was going through towns, villages and cattle-pens (vraja), killing the newly-horn (śiśu ?). For where the prince of Sātvata, the killer of rākshasas, is not listened to such demonesses (yātudhānī) have free play.

Using her magical power to go anywhere at and to take any shape, Pûtanā came down one day into Nanda's Gokula in the guise of a beautiful woman, her hair tied (keśa-bandha) in a garland of jasmine, wearing quivering (kampita) ear-rings (karṇa-bhushaṇa) in her black hair, and a lotus in her hand. She looked so attractive that the gopas took her to be the Goddess Śrī going to meet her Lord.

She was looking for new-born children and her eyes fell on Him who is death to the wicked. He lay in his cot with His immeasurale glory hidden like fire under ashes. He who is the self of mobile and immobile beings (charācharātmā) had recognised in her one of those devils who try to kill children, and he closed his eyes.[1]

When the rākshasī entered the room, Yaśodā and Rohiṇī were spell-bound by this graceful but hard-hearted woman, like unto a sword (asi) hidden in its sheath (kosha). They did not stop her when she took in her lap the Lord Ananta, the God who avenges (?), just as a foolish person may take up a serpent (uraga), thinking it to be a rope.

She suckled Him at her enormous breasts (stana) which she had smeared with intoxicant (mādana). Bhagavān, infuriated (roshasamanvita), squeezed (prapīḍ) the breasts with his hands (kara) and sucked the milk along with her vital forçes (prāṇa).

In agonising pain, she shrieked : "Let me off !", tossing her hands and feet, bathed in perspiration. Her screams

1. According to Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 26, 4, His eyes were only half-closed.

shook the whole universe. She ran outside the village[1] but Krishṇa did not release His hold.

The rākshasī, her mouth wide open, dishevelled, stretching her arms and legs, then fell dead on the plain of Vraja, like Vṛitra struck by Indra's thunderbolt (vajra). In its fall, her body reduced the trees to powder over a distance of three gavyūti; it was a most astounding sight.

Gopas and gopīs, whose hearts, ears and heads had already been badly shaken by her shrieks, were terrified at the sight of the horrible carcase. On her bosom (uras) however, the child was playing fearlessly. Gopīs quickly took him up and duly performed all appropriate rites to protect him against all evil, putting each part of his body under the protection of the corresponding deity, and warding off all spirits which are hostile to young children. Then his mother suckled Him and put Him to bed.

When Nanda and the other gopas returned from Mathurā they were extremely surprised to see the body and they realised that Ānakadundhubi had foretold right.

The people of Vraja hacked the body, buried the bones and feet, and burnt the flesh and the skin.[2] The smoke which rose out of the fire was fragrant like the fumes of the aguru, because by sucking her breasts, Śrī Kṛishṇa had divested her of all sin.

This yātudhānī shared the fate of the Lord's step-mother, because she hod looked on Him with the eyes of a mother.

COMMENTARY.

The etymology of the name Pūtanā is often given as *Pūt* (virtue) *na* (none). An equally unsatisfactory explanation derives it from *pūta*, purifying,[3] in which case it would mean "she who purifies."

1. This detail is omitted in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.
2. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa does not mention this burying of the bones and feet before cremation.
3. Rājā Radhā Kānta Deva, Śabdakalpadrum.

It would seem more likely that the name of Lord Krishṇa's dangerous foster-mother should come from Put, a hell which is closely connected with the relations between parents and offspring. Ṛishi Ṛitavāk says to Mārkaṇḍeya that children begotten not under the influence of lust, but for the sake of having a son, are threatened by dangers coming from Put[1]. The gods tell ṛishi Mandapāla that only children can rescue their fathers from it[2], and when Śakuntalā says the same thing to king Dushyanta, she adds that therefore children were called putra by Brahmā himself[3]. Another instance is that of prince Vena, who was delivered from the same hell when his son Pṛithu was born.[4]

Both at the beginning and at the end of the episode in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, we are reminded that rākshasī Pūtanā is a yātudhānī. The word yātudhānī occurs seldom in the Scriptures[5], but the masculine form yātudhāna appears fairly frequently, most often in connection with other groups of evil spirits. In the Ṛig-Veda[6], ṛishi Pāyu (whose name is probably connected etymolologically with payas, milk) devotes most of a long hymn to a request to Agni that he should protect him against them. And in that hymn, yātudhānas are connected with the milk of the sacrificial cow, aghnyā, which they steal and which becomes for them poison[7]. It is remarkable that in the same hymn[8], the ṛishi should ask Agni to treat yātudhānas precisely as Pūtanā was treated, i.e. after having killed them he should severe their joints, break their limbs and eat their flesh. This is one more instance of the absolute consistency of all Hindu Scriptures.

According to the Garga Saṁhitā, the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa and various other texts, in a previous birth, Pūtanā was

1. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, LXXV, 15.
2. MB, Adi P., 231.
3. MB, Adi P., 74.
4. VP, I, 13, 42.
5. Ṛishi Agastya uses it in ṚV. I, 191, 8 & Urukshaya in ṚV. X, 118, 8.
6. X, 87.
7. Ślokas 16 to 18.
8. Śloka 5.

Ratnamālā, the daughter of King Bali. When she saw Vāmana, the dwarf-avatāra, she was fascinated by him and yearned to have him as her child, to suckle and fondle him to her heart's content. But when she saw him make his three steps and thereby deprive her father of all his possesions, she changed her mind and fulfilled a desire to try to kill him. The Lord knew her mind, and fulfilled both desires in His avatara as Krishṇa, when she became Pūtanā.

Various commentators have suggested that Pūtanā was some kind of infantile disease[1] or a bird[2], and both interpretations may well be accepted if they are taken in a figurative sense, as a danger to infants and an aspiration, respectively.

My suggestion is that Pūtanā, the first enemy encountered by Śrī Krishṇa in His life, represents the possessive maternal instinct which is the first obstacle to be surmounted by aspirants to yoga. There are many famous instances in history, and we need only mention Śaṅkarāchārya and Chaitanya, but the fact is of extremely frequent occurrence and most people who engage in spiritual life have experienced it.

That she is closely associated with parenthood in general and motherhood in particular is evident from her role as a foster-mother and is stressed further by the etymology which we have of her name, as well as by the hymn we have referred to her being mentioned along with Mātṛikā.

It must be noted further that her milk was neither poison, nor even mixed with poison, as is often carelessly alleged. She had only besmeared the outside of her paps with a harmful substance, which as a matter of fact is not described as "poison" but as an "intoxicant", something therefore which can do considerable, substantial and lasting harm, but which is at least in general pleasant to drink. She therefore tried to intoxicate the child to death by offering him something which was attractive to him.

1. Sen, I, 54.
2. do, I. 82.

And the Lord, blissfully ignoring the danger which resided in the superficial coating over the breasts, avidly drank all the milk which he could get, to the very last drop; when she begged him to stop and when she tried to run away, he did not let go. He even drank all his foster-mother's life-forces along with her blood, and was apparently so pleased with the whole thing that when she was dead he stayed happily on her breast and had to be taken away by the gopī.

After her death he did not give her moksha, which would have put an end to the principle for which she stands, but he sent her to the same paradise as Mā Yośodā, which means that her action continues and remains necessary if the world itself is to continue. This is stressed in at least two places in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa: in one the gopīs, when they recite all the bījanyāsa to protect the child against hostile spirits, still mention Pūtanā, although she is dead[1]; in another it is stated that Pūtanā, with all her tribe, has access to Kṛshṇa[2]. And the whole chapter is not called the killing of Pūtanā, but the deliverance of Pūtanā.

So in this episode the Lord shows us how to handle the danger arising out of maternal instinct: ignore the danger itself but take advantage of all that maternal love gives, all the life-force that comes along with the milk. When we do so, the motherly love must needs be sublimated in such a way that all that is harmful in it is eliminated. What is hard and earthly in it and therefore cannot be sublimated (feet and bones) returns to the earth, but the rest is entitled to the joys of the highest paradise.

Short mention must be made of three details which are not unimportant:

It is stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa that in order to carry out her work of destruction efficiently, Pūtanā must do it by

1. X, 6, 28. This is the place where her name is coupled with that of the Mātṛikā.

2. X, 14, 35

night,[1] which means in the absence of light, of understanding. If the ill-intentioned mother who wants to keep her child to herself sees the light, she must evidently change her mind.

The importance of not letting any illumination come in if the intended task is to be fulfilled is further stressed in the fact that she is described as having her hair tied (keśabandha), and not ornamented, as is commonly stated, in a garland of jasmine. The word for hair, keśa, which is used here, is the same which we find in the name Keśava, which refers to rays of spiritual illumination.

Also we see it mentioned that she wears ear-rings (karṇa-bhūshaṇa) which are not "radiant", as many translations state, but "quivering" (kampita).[2] Now ear-rings have a very special meaning in Hindu symbolism. *They denote the faculty to discern the precise extent of the field which belongs to Mind.* Which explains why Indra, the Lord of the mental realm, takes such keen interest in them, as is apparent from his quarrel with Karṇa[3], his tricking Takshaka[4] and many other incidents. If those ear-rings of Pūtanā quiver, it evidently means that this faculty in her is very unstable, or leads her to quickly-changing conclusions.[5]

Another point is that in her fall, the body of Pūtanā reduces to dust all the trees over a distance expressed in a word, *gavyūti*, which is evidently closely connected with *go*, the latter word designating rays of spiritual illumination. If the trees represent aspiration to grow, it would mean that in three realms of activity, the three lower worlds, aspirants to growth may be crushed by the material earthly aspect of what Pūtanā represents. Nanda realises it perfectly well and says so himself in the Prem-sāgar.

1. V, 5, 7-11
2. Grassmann translates "sittern"
3. MB, Ādi P... LXIII & Passim
4. MB, Adi P., XLIV
5. Naraka steals the ear-rings of Aditī when the latter is seated on the throne of Indra. Similarly in the Bible the story of the golden calf which is made out of the ear-rings of the wives, daughters and sons of the Jews (Exodus, 32). Further, we shall see that Rukmiṇi Devī does not need to wear an ear-ring on the ear by which she listens to Śrī Krishṇa.

A NOTE ON PUTANĀ AND YAŚODĀ

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

Pûtanā and Yaśodā are the two foster-mothers of Krishṇa. Their attitude towards the Babe is sharply distinguished. Yaśoda nourishes him to become perfect in body and mind; Pûtanā aims to cause his death. In Vedic symbolism Pûtanā is the agent of Varuṇa, and Yaśodā of Indra, the latter identified with Sûrya whose main achievement is the perfection of its radiant orb, i. e. its *Yaśo-maṇḍala* or accomplished glory and beauty of form.

The etymology of the two names gives scent to their original meaning. Pûtanā is related to *pūtana* or putrefaction. Becoming putrid, rotting and festering are the outcome of the absence of motion or flow. When water becomes stationary and is deprived of contact with the sun's rays it begins to rot and go bad. It is confined in its hold by Vṛitra, who is the enemy of Indra. Vṛitra obstructs the free flow of waters:

वृत्रो ह वा इदं सर्वँ वृत्वा शिश्ये यददिमन्तरेण द्यावापृथिवी, स यदिदं सर्वँ वृत्वा शिश्ये तस्माद् वृत्रो नाम (शतपथ ब्रा० १।१।३।४)।

The waters or clouds symbolise the functioning or active faculties of the mind. Indra as the conscious mind with his thunderbolt must cleave this demon to pieces and releasing the pent up flow of waters evolve an orderly planning of the conscious mental powers. This is the Yaśomaṇḍala of Indra, symbolised by the Sun, which is the archetype of orderly and planned creation in the Universe. Varuṇa on the other hand is the lord of those waters enveloped in darkness and chaos (कृष्णं नियानं, also called ऋत सदन, RV. I. 164. 47). This aspect of the waters in the strangling grip of Varuṇa and Vṛitra is symbolised as Pûtanā, who feins to offer milk to the growing Babe, but the milk is polluted with poison, i.e. the life-

giving sap is negatived by the death-dealing potion hidden behind it.

This is just what happens in the cosmic creative process. In the beginning exist the waters (आपः, समुद्रः, सलिलम्) under the control and lordship of Varuṇa, the Asura god. Then ensues a titanic struggle between Indra and Vṛitra for the release of those confined draughts. The Waters or Clouds are mental faculties, the Psyche, whose freedom is essential for the complete development of the Babe into full-fledged manhood. Life is an increasing unfoldment of Indra's jurisdiction or an expansion of his dominion over dark areas formerly under the control of Vṛitra and Varuṇa.

Pūtanā is *niśāchari* (निशाचरी), female āsuric genius of the dark regions of Varuṇa. Yaśodā is her opposite. The former symbolies death and the latter immortality. Kṛishṇa is the Soma in the Parameshṭhī or the collective universal infinity. Parameshṭhī is the region of the cows, the Vraja (व्रजं गच्छ गोष्ठानम्), or the place where all the conscious faculties are concentrated in their source in the unconscious. Their emergence or expression is the release of those cows by Indra as a result of his conquest over the demons. Indra as god is the son of Aditi, who is herself the cosmic cow, the immortal and imperishable goddess of infinity. Her counterpart is Diti, the mother of demons and all the forces of darkness and death. Pūtanā is one such aspect.

Etymologically पुत्र is derived from पुत्, the name of a hell; he who protects from पुत् by overcoming the stranglehold of that hell earns the title of पुत्र. But as a matter of fact, in the Purāṇic lists of Narakas there is no such name as पुत्. It was presumably an independent name signifying that which rots or putrefies owing to absence of motion or flow (गति). All purāṇic motion belongs to Indra or Sūrya, which is the dynamic centre of cosmic rythm and pulsation, expressing by day and night the ceaseless process of contraction and expansion (प्राणो वै समञ्चन-प्रसारणम्, शतपथ ८।१।४।१० ; cf Yajurveda 27.45, प्रेत्याऽएत्यै सं चाञ्च प्र च सारय).

The region of Varuṇa is the sphere of पुत् and पूतना, which confines all these collective waters, to which Indra confers light (ज्योतिः), immortality (अमृतं) and freedom (अक्षितिः). Pūtanā is said to be ornamented with two quivering ear-rings. What is the significance of these two ear-rings? In Vedic symbolism they are equivalent to the two Maṇḍalas, viz. the Maṇḍala of Agni and the Maṇḍala of Soma. These are also called अंगिरो-मंडल and भृगु-मंडल, both of which co-exist in the आपो-मंडल of वरुण—

आपो भृग्वंगिरोरूपमापो भृग्वंगिरोमयम् ।
अन्तरेते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनंगिरसः श्रिताः ॥

Varuṇa is basically the sphere of ऋत, the watery substratum against which सत्य, or इन्द्र or सूर्य emerges in concrete manifestation. The latter are called यशोमंडल, or there gion of glory and light, typified as यशोदा to whose motherly care the divine Babe is consigned for growth and perfection.

In some texts पूतना is called a बकी, a female crane. The latter is the symbol of crookedness and hypocrisy that belong to the dark world of the Asuras and are a feature of the wriggling serpent that appears and vanishes. The बक is the characteristic bird of a stagnant pool and therefore the बकी is the arch-symbol of the dark region of the mind, that exists prior to the perfection of the conscious powers of illumination and the functioning mind.

पद्मयोनिः ब्रह्मा

विद्यावाचस्पति पं० मधुसूदन ओझा

[The late Pt. Madhusūdan Ojha of Jaipur explains here the conception of Brahmā and his lotus seat. In terms of cosmic यज्ञविद्या, Brahmā is the immortal principle of Fire or Energy, and the पद्म or lotus is the symbol of the gross material elements manifesting as the Earth, or the concrete and externalised form of energy. Energy can manifest itself only through matter. Brahmā must invariably be associated with his lotus. These are called चितेनिधेय अग्नि and चित्याग्नि respectively in the यज्ञीय terminology. The principle of Vāyu pressing on the material elements and helping them to retain their shape is termed as एमूष वराह. The Lotus (पृथिवीपद्म) is further explained as supported on the navel of Vishṇu, which esoterically represents the centre of all the gravitational pulls operative between the Earth and the Sun.]

पुराणलक्षणायां सृष्टिविद्यायामियं सृष्टिस्तावद् द्विविधा व्याख्यायते मानसी मैथुनी च। यत्रैकस्मादेव कस्माच्चिदर्थात्प्रकृतिविकासानुरोधेनोत्तरं कतिपये अर्थाः सृज्यन्ते सा मानसी सृष्टिः। अथ यत्र तु पदार्थद्वयसंयोगे तदुभय-विमर्दनद्वारा कश्चिदपूर्वोऽर्थः प्रादुर्भवति यथा पीतवर्णनीलवर्णयोः संयोगात् तदुभयभिन्नो हरिद्वर्णः प्रादुर्भवति, तत्र योषावृषाभ्यां नानापदार्थयोगवशात् सृष्टेर्नियतत्वात्सा मैथुनी सृष्टिराख्यायते। तत्र वेदविद्यायां मानसी सृष्टिरेव प्राधान्येन प्रदर्शिता। अथेह पुराणविद्यायां मैथुनी सृष्टिर्विशेषतोऽनुरुध्यते। तत्रापि मैथुनीनां सृष्टीनामानन्त्यात्प्रथमं पृथिव्यां यावत्यः सृष्टयो दृश्यन्ते ता एवोपक्रम्येयं पुराणसंहिता प्रवर्तते।

यामिमां पृथिवीं पश्यामस्तावदाधारभूतस्तदन्तरतः कश्चनाग्निः श्रुत्या प्रतिपाद्यते। सोऽग्निर्द्विविधः, चित्यश्चितेनिधेयश्च। तत्रायं चित्यो मर्त्योऽग्नि-र्भूतयोनिः पृथिवीपिण्डारम्भकपञ्चमहाभूतस्वरूपेणोपपद्यते। न च तत्रायमग्नि-

धर्मस्तापोऽनुवर्तते । सोऽयं चित्यो मर्त्योऽग्निः पद्मः । यस्तु स चितेनिधेयोऽमृताग्निः स ब्रह्मा । स स्वयंभूः पृथिवीं सृष्ट्वा तामेवानुप्रविश्य तत्रैव च पृथिवीगर्भे शश्वदभिवर्तते । तत्रैतमग्निधर्मस्तापोऽनुवर्तते । न चायं ब्रह्माग्निस्तापलक्षणः पिण्डाधारमन्तरेण क्वचिदप्युपपद्यते, तस्मात् पद्मभूः पद्मयोनिः पद्मासन इत्युच्यते । देवेषु सर्वतः प्रागभूत् तस्मात् पूर्वः सुरज्येष्ठः स्वयंभूः । स एव चैषः सर्वां सृष्टिं कुरुते तस्मात् स्रष्टा वेधा विधाता विधिर्विरञ्चिर्विश्वसृड् नाम ।

अथ "तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविशदिति" श्रुतिनिगमेन योऽग्निविशेषो मर्त्यस्य भूमंडलस्यान्तरतोऽनुप्रविष्टः प्रतिपद्यते, सोऽमृताग्निः । स च दक्षिणध्रुवमारभ्योत्तरध्रुवान्तः पृथिवीगर्भसम्प्रविष्टः पृथिव्या रूपेण प्रत्यक्षमुपपद्यते तमेतमेवाग्निं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते "अग्निर्ब्रह्मे"ति शतपथश्रुतेः । तस्माद्ध्येतस्माद् ब्रह्मण एवैताः सर्वाः सृष्टयो भवन्ति या एतस्यां पृथिव्यां परितः प्रथिताः, असंज्ञा अन्तःसंज्ञा ससंज्ञाश्चेति त्रेधा विभक्ताः केचन भौतिकार्था दृश्यन्ते । सैषा ब्रह्मणः सृष्टिरेव प्रथमात्र ब्रह्मपुराणस्य निरूपणीयोऽर्थः ।

अथ चायममृताग्निर्नाम ब्रह्मा यस्मिंश्चित्येऽग्नौ प्रतितिष्ठति सोऽयं पृथिवीपिण्डः पद्म इत्युच्यते पद्मपुराणे पृथिव्या एव पद्मत्वेन व्याख्यातत्वात् । तथा हि—

"एतदेव महापद्ममभूद्धैरण्मयं जगत्" इति ।

तत्रैवोपपन्नोऽयं ब्रह्मा पद्मयोनिस्तस्य च पद्मरूपस्य पृथिवीपिण्डस्य भूतभौतिकसङ्घरूपतया सर्वविधसृष्टिप्रकारस्यैमूषवराहाधारत्वेन व्यवस्थितस्य निरूपणं पद्मपुराणार्थः ।

अथायं पृथिवीरूपः पद्मः किमाधारेणोपतिष्ठत इति जिज्ञासायां तृतीयो विष्णुः प्रतिष्ठात्वेनाख्यायते । अस्या हि पृथिव्याश्चतुर्दिक्षु व्याप्तास्त्रयस्त्रिंशदहर्गणा भवन्ति । तेषु चाहर्गणेषु सप्तदशमारभ्य पञ्चविंशं यावन्नवाहः कश्चन यज्ञः प्रतितिष्ठति । तस्यैकविंशः प्रतिष्ठा स यज्ञो विष्णुरित्याख्यायते । सोऽयं त्रिवृत्पञ्चदश-सप्तदशैकविंशभेदाच्चतुष्टोम चाख्यायते । चतुष्टोमत्वाच्चायं चतुर्भुजो

निरूप्यते। तस्य च विष्णोरयं सूर्य्यो निदर्शनम्। एतस्माच्च सूर्य्यात्पृथ्वीपिण्डं यावदेका सुषुम्णा नाडी प्रवर्तते, स ब्रह्मनाल इत्युच्यते। स च सप्तविंशादारभ्य पञ्चविंशान्तं यज्ञपुरुषस्य नाभेरेकविंशादह्नः सूर्य्यादारभ्य प्रवर्तमानः पृथिव्यन्तं प्रपद्यते। पृथिवी च पद्मम्, तस्यैतस्य पद्मस्य स एकविंशस्थो विष्णोर्नाभिः प्रतिष्ठा तदित्थं पृथिव्यादिसूर्य्यान्तलोकत्रयनिरूपणं विष्णुपुराणार्थः।

अथैष विष्णुः परितः प्रथिते समुद्रेऽवतिष्ठते। स च समुद्रः सूर्य्यप्रकाशमण्डलात्परितः प्रथितः पारमेष्ठ्यमण्डलादुद्भूत इष्यत इति तादृशसमुद्रनिरूपणं भागवतपदार्थः

अथायं समुद्रोऽपि ततः परितोऽभिव्याप्तेन वेदमण्डलेनाभिवेष्टितो भवति। तद् वेदमण्डलं १ स्वयम्भूः, २ परमेष्ठी, ३ सूर्य्यः, ४ पृथिवी, ५ चन्द्रमा इति पञ्चवल्शाक्रमेण व्यवस्थितं वेदे व्याख्यातम्, तदेव पुनरिह पुराणसंहितायां वैपरीत्यक्रमेण पञ्चभिः पुराणैर्व्याख्यातम् इति प्रथमः कल्पः ॥ १ ॥

अथवा पृथिव्यग्निर्ब्रह्मा। हिरण्मयं सौरमण्डलं ब्रह्माण्डं महापद्मम्। परमेष्ठी भगवानापोमयो विष्णुः। वायुसमुद्रोऽनन्तः शेषः। अपां समुद्रः सरस्वान्नाम। अपामुत्पादकस्त्रयी ब्रह्म वाक्प्राणो नारद ऋषिः। नारदाद्वाङ्मयप्राणात् अपां समुद्रस्य सृष्टिः। अपां समुद्राद् वायुसमुद्रसृष्टिः। वायुसमुद्रे पारमेष्ठ्यमापोमयं विष्णुधाम। विष्णोर्नाभौ समुद्रगर्भे हिरण्मयमाण्डं महापद्ममसृज्यत। तत्र प्रादुर्भवन्नयमग्निर्ब्रह्मा पृथ्वीशरीरः प्रतिष्ठा। सोऽयं ब्रह्मा पाञ्चभौतकीमिमां वेदलोकप्रजाधर्म्मरूपां चतुर्विधां सृष्टिमातनोतीति पश्यामः।

[पुराणोत्पत्तिप्रसंगाख्याद्ग्रन्थादुद्धृतः, पृ० २२-२४]

HIRAṆYAGARBHA

[हिरण्यगर्भ]

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[वेदेषु पुराणेषु च हिरण्यगर्भस्य वर्णनमुपलभ्यते । 'अप एव ससर्जादौ' इत्यादिना सृष्टेरारम्भकं तत्त्वम् 'आपः' 'सलिलं' 'समुद्र' इति कथ्यते । युगान्ते एकार्णवविधौ सर्वाणि लोकान्यात्मन्युपसंहृत्य कश्चिदचिन्त्यः सदसदात्मकः पुरुषविशेषः योगनिद्रामाश्रित्य शयानस्तिष्ठति । स एव विष्णुः ब्रह्मापरनामकः नारायणश्च । तस्मादेव देवाधिदेवात् सर्वकारणकारणात् 'वासुदेवाख्य' तत्त्वात् प्रलयान्ते मार्कण्डेयनामा सहस्रायुः ऋषिः बहिरायाति । स एव सक्रियः कालरूपः यः पूर्वं विष्णोः कुक्षौ जीर्णतां गतः । स कालाख्यः ऋषिर्मार्कण्डेयः बालरूपस्य नारायणस्य संकोचविकासात्मिकां चेष्टां परिपश्यति । तदेवास्य भगवतो नारायणस्य अक्षरात्मकं रूपम् । तस्यैव हिरण्यं, प्राणः, अग्निः, सूर्य इत्यादीनि नामानि । तमेव हिरण्यगर्भं, हिरण्मयाण्डं च व्यपदिशन्ति । हिरण्यं प्राणात्मकं ज्योतिः, यस्य गर्भे समञ्चनप्रसारणरूपेण स्पन्दते स एव हिरण्यगर्भः विराट् च कथ्यते । तस्मादाण्डादेव इदं सर्वं विश्वमुपजायते । अमुमेव भावमभिकृत्य केनचित्प्राचीनचित्रकारेण भागवतादर्शपुस्तके चित्रमेकं लिखितं, यत्र महत्यर्णवे परिप्लवमानमेकं हैमाण्डं चित्रितम् । तस्यैव व्याख्यात्र समुदाहृता । चित्रमिदमधुना हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयभारतकलाभवनसंग्रहालये सुरक्षितं, तस्याध्यक्षस्य श्रीरायकृष्णदासमहोदयस्य सौजन्येनात्र मुद्रितम् ।]

1. सलिलम्

The wide conception of Vedic cosmogony is epitomised in the word हिरण्यगर्भ—the Golden Germ. The Purāṇas elaborate the theme and explain its meaning as part of the एकार्णवविधि, i.e. the existence of One Ocean in the beginning of the cosmos. The Rigveda refers to the Primeval Waters as सलिलं—

तम आसीत्तमसा गूळ्हमग्रेऽप्रकेतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम् ।

(नासदीय सूक्त १०।१२९।३)

'The Unmanifest (तमः) concealed within it the Formless Manifestation (तमः).

The Universe (इदं सर्वम्) then was indiscriminated (अप्रकेतं) in the Primeval Waters (सलिलम्).'

The same Ocean is referred to as the Waters of unfathomed depth :

अम्भः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् ।

(नासदीय, X, 129.1)

Verily the cosmos is the outcome of the fashioning of forms from out of the Waters of the primeval Ocean of Energy :

गौरीर्मिमाय सलिलानि तक्षती ।

(ऋ० १।१६४।४१)

'The Dark She-Bison has by her rumblings fashioned the Waters into manifold forms.'

What is the significance of Gaurī ? In Vedic symbolism गौरी, and अदिति are distinguished; गौरी, the she-buffalo, represents the वाक् of the dark regions of वरुण, and अदिति, as the cow, of the effulgent regions of इन्द्र. Thus गौरी and अदिति both are forms of Agni, or Vāk, for all Speech or Sound is pulsating energy.

The creative process is the descending of the water-floods from those Primeval Oceans :

तस्याः समुद्रा अधि विक्षरन्ति ।

(ऋ० १।१६४।४२)

The Oceans remain under the lordship of Varuṇa, they are encompassed by his sovereign might. Vṛitra is Varuṇa's arch-agent, the enveloping Asura who is lying asleep at every point of the Ocean. Indra emerges as the great God to challenge him, to overcome him and release the flow of Waters. Indra is the principle of हिरण्यगर्भ, the same as अग्नि, the child of Waters (अपां गर्भः), or the gold-pinioned Bird (हिरण्यपक्ष शकुनि), i.e. the Sun :

यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत ।
अत्रा समुद्र आ गूह्ळं सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥

(ऋ० १०।७२।७)

'The Sun which was lying hidden in the Ocean, Ye brought forward, O Ye Gods, when, like Yatis, with your regulated dance movements, you caused the worlds to grow.'

These most appropriate words—समुद्र आगूह्ळं सूर्यम्—are the Vedic nucleus of the हिरण्यगर्भ विद्या—

हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत् ।
स दाधार पृथिवीमुत द्यां कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ।

(ऋ० १०।१२१।१)

First of all to come into being is Hiraṇyagarbha, the supreme principle of creation ;—He supports द्यावापृथिवी as the manifest form of the Unmanifest प्रजापति who is symbolised as क, and whose unknowable form is the ultimate object of our oblations. In a clearly worded stanza of the Prajāpati Sūkta, we find a fourfold statement :

आपो ह यद्बृहतीर्विश्वमायन् गर्भं दधाना जनयन्तीरग्निम् ।
ततो देवानां समवर्ततासुरेकः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

(ऋ० १०।१२१।७)

(1) बृहतीः आपः— The Great Waters, same as the समुद्र, आपः, or Purāṇic अप एव ससर्जादौ, or आपो नाराः.

(2) विश्वं गर्भं दधानाः— The Universe was its germ, womb or child :

अग्निर्हि नः प्रथमजा ऋतस्य ।

(ऋ० १०।५।७)

अपां सखा प्रथमजा ऋतावा क्स्विज्जातः कुत आबभूव ॥

(ऋ० १०।१६८।३)

(3) जनयन्तीरग्निम्— That Germ was Agni, the Child of Waters; and Sūrya or Indra is but a form of that Agni. अग्नि is the first-born of ऋत or बृहतीः आपः.

(4) देवानाम् असुः— The अग्नि thus produced as the womb of waters is the unique Spirit (असुः = प्राणः) of all the Gods (अग्नि = प्राण = समञ्चन-प्रसारण, Cosmic Pulsation). He is the Hiraṇyagarbha, same as the सत्यनारायण सूर्य of the Purāṇas, and the सत्यधर्मा of the Ṛigveda (X. 121. 9).

The हिरण्यगर्भ is the emergence of सत्य against the substratum of ऋत, or the Infinite Universal, called Parameshṭhi (ऋतमेव परमेष्ठि). The Vedic-cum-Purāṇic formula is :—

सत्य=हिरण्य=प्राण=अग्नि=सूर्य=नारायण

2. एकार्णवविधि

In Purāṇic terminology, the expanded Ocean at the time of dissoution is called सलिल (हरिवंश ३।१०।१), महार्णव, एकार्णव, अगाध स्तब्ध सलिल (हरिवंश ३।१०।३४), or युगान्त तोय (भागवत ३।८।२३). The Harivaṁśa goes a step further and describes the primeval watery floods as enveloped by a nebulous frost :

यथा चैकार्णवजले नीहारेण वृतान्तरे ।
अव्यक्तभीषणे लोके सर्वभूतविवर्जिते ॥

(हरि० ३।१०।३१)

In its unmanifest form, when all sentient beings are non-existent, and everything is covered by darkness, the single Ocean looks formidable. All the divided units of creation are disrupted and drawn together into a single watery mass :

भूत्वा नारायणो योगी सप्तमूर्तिर्विभावसुः ।
गभस्तिभिः प्रदीप्ताभिः संशोषयति सागरान् ॥ १
पीत्वाऽर्णवांश्च सर्वान् सनदीः कूपांश्च सर्वशः ।
पर्वतानां च सलिलं सर्वं पीत्वा च रश्मिभिः ॥ २

हिरण्यगर्भ

The Golden Egg illustrating the Birth of the Cosmos. A Pahāri painting from a Bhāgavata manuscript (circa 1775-1800).

Preserved in the Bhāratakalābhavana Museum of the Banaras Hindu University.

On the reverse of the painting is inscribed the following verse from the Bhāgavata:—

हिरण्मयः स पुरुषः सहस्रपरिवत्सरान् ।
आण्डकोश उवासाप्सु सर्वसत्त्वोपबृंहितः ॥

(III 6. 6.)

(3) जनयन्तीरग्निम्-- That Germ was Agni, the Child of Waters; and Sūrya or Indra is but a form of that Agni. अग्नि is the first-born of ऋत or बृहतीः आपः.

(4) देवानाम् असुः-- The अग्नि thus produced as the womb of waters is the unique Spirit (असुः = प्राणः) of all the Gods (अग्नि = प्राण = समञ्चन-प्रसारण, Cosmic Pulsation). He is the Hiranyagarbha, same as the सत्यनारायण पुरुष of the Purāṇas, and the सत्यधर्मा of the Rigveda (X. 121. 9).

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एकार्णवविधि

In Purāṇic terminology, the expanded Ocean at the time of dissoution is called सलिल (हरिवंश ३।१०।१७), महार्णव, एकार्णव, अगाध स्तब्ध सलिल (हरिवंश ३।१०।३४), or युगान्त तोय (भागवत ३।८।२३). The Harivaṁśa goes a step further and describes the primeval watery floods as enveloped by a nebulous frost :

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गभस्तिभिः प्रदीप्ताभिः संशोषयति सागरान् ॥ १
पीत्वाऽर्णवांश्च सर्वान् सनदीः कूपांश्च सर्वशः ।
पर्वतानां च सलिलं सर्वं पीत्वा च रश्मिभिः ॥ २

भित्वा सहस्रशश्चैव महीं नीत्वा रसातलम् ।
रसातलजलं कृत्स्नं पिबते रसमुत्तमम् ॥ ३
अप्सु सृजन् क्लेदमन्यद्ददाति प्राणिनां ध्रुवम् ॥ ४

(हरि० ३।९)

Nīlakaṇṭha translates अप्सु as कारण ब्रह्मणि, the Transcendent Brahman as the ultimate cause of the created worlds.

As a matter of fact आपः is equivalent to all the possibilities of Existence, which are withdrawn into their primal source when dissolution takes place.

In terms of Jungian psychology this state may be compared to the *humidium radicle*, the root-moisture, the spirit of life, not only indwelling in all living beings, but immanent in everything that exists.

This Flood of Life breaks up its individuation and is withdrawn into its universal source, the Ocean :

समुद्रं वः प्रहिणोमि स्वां योनिमपीतना ।

(अथर्व १०।५।२३)

The watery floods of this Ocean enshrine within their womb what is variously known as अपां वत्स, अपां वृषभ, अपां हिरण्यगर्भ, दिव्य अश्मा पृश्नि, अग्नि and the याज्ञुष पुरुष, symbolising the conjoint principle of movement and stasis (गति-स्थिति) (Atharvaveda, X. 5. 15-21).

3. निद्रागतनारायण

The most characteristic divine feature associated with the oceanic equilibrium of Energy is the conception of नारायण—

एकार्णवे तु त्रैलोक्ये ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः ।
भोगिशय्यागतः शेते त्रैलोक्यग्रासबृंहितः ॥

(विष्णु० १।३।२४)

Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa are identical divinities, who, having withdrawn the three worlds into their persoa, sleep on the cosmic

serpent called Ananta Śesha. [See also, Vishṇu, 1. 3, 3, 1. 4. 1, 1. 4. 4-5 for ब्रह्मा = नारायण].

The principle of sleep (निद्रा) is the same as the principle of Rest or Stasis (स्थिति). नारायण is the same as स्थाणु, the fixed eternal, changeless Divinity, called एकम् (the One without a second), अज (Unborn), अव्यक्त, पुरुष, अनादि काल, कारण, केवल, नित्य, सदसदात्मक, etc. These epithets are often repeated in the Purāṇas with many additional ones.[1] Some of these correspond to those used in the नासदीयसूक्त—

नाहो न रात्रिर्न नभो न भूमिर्नासीत् तमो ज्योतिरभून्न चान्यत् ।
श्रोत्रादिबुद्ध्यानुपलभ्यमेकं प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म पुमांस्तदासीत् ॥

(विष्णु० १।२।२३)

The author of the Vishṇu Purāṇa explicitly mentions this doctrine to have been developed by the Brahmavādins of the Vedas (वेदवादविदो विद्वन्नियता ब्रह्मवादिनः । पठन्ति चैतमेवार्थम्···१।२।२२).

1. परः पराणां परमः परमात्मा पितामहः ।
रूपवर्णादिरहितो विशेषणविवर्जितः ॥ १ ॥
अपक्षयविनाशाभ्यां परिणामर्धिजन्मभिः ।
गुणैर्विवर्जितः सर्वैः स भातीति हि केवलम् ॥ २ ॥
सर्वत्रासौ समश्चापि वसत्यनुपमो मतः ।
भावयन् ब्रह्मरूपेण विद्वद्भिः परिपठ्यते ॥ ३ ॥
तद्ब्रह्म परमं नित्यमजमक्षयमव्ययम् ।
एकस्वरूपं च सदा हेयाभावाच्च निर्मलम् ॥ ३[1] ॥
तदेतत् सर्वमेवैतद् व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपवत् ।
तथा पुरुषरूपेण कालरूपेण च स्थितम् ॥ ४ ॥
परस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं पुरुषः प्रथमो द्विज ।
व्यक्ताव्यक्ते तथैवान्ये रूपे कालस्तथापरम् ॥ ४[1] ॥
प्रधानपुरुषव्यक्तकालानां परमं हि यत् ।
पश्यन्ति सूरयः शुद्धं तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥ ४[2] ॥
प्रधानपुरुषव्यक्तकालास्तु प्रविभागशः ।
रूपाणि स्थितिसर्गान्तव्यक्तिसद्भावहेतवः ॥ ४[3] ॥
व्यक्तं विष्णुस्तथाव्यक्तं पुरुषः काल एव च ।
क्रीडतो बालकस्येव चेष्टां तस्य निशामय ॥ ४[4] ॥

W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. 6

नारायण denotes the Transcendental Divine Power as the substratum of Infinite Nature (प्रधान). The Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad explains Nārāyaṇa in a grand equation as follows :

एष हि खल्वात्मेशानः शंभुर्भवो रुद्रः प्रजापतिर्विश्वसृग्घिरण्यगर्भः ।
सत्यं प्राणो हंसः शास्ता विष्णुर्नारायणेऽर्कः सविता वाता विधाता सम्राडिन्द्र इन्दुरिति ।
(मैत्रा० ६।८)

शेष and विष्णु are correlative terms. वेवेष्टि व्याप्नोति इति विष्णुः,—Vishṇu is that aspect of the Divine Power which is comprehended in the created cosmos and thus made finite. That which remains beyond is truly called शेष—The Remainder. Vishṇu is relative and Śesha is absolute ; Vishṇu is finite and Śesha is infinite. The relationship between the relative and the absolute aspects of Divinity is expressed as 'Vishṇu resting or sleeping on Śesh, the Ananta or Infinite One.' It is a cogent and complete iconographic formula, viz. that of शेषशायी विष्णु.

4. स्वयम्भू प्रजापति

We may briefly explain here the cosmogonic doctrine given in the beginning of the Manu Smṛiti.

आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम् ।
अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयं प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः ॥
ततः स्वयंभूर्भगवानव्यक्तो व्यञ्जयन्निदम् ।
महाभूतादि वृत्तौजाः प्रादुरासीत्तमोनुदः ॥
योऽसावतीन्द्रियग्राह्यः सूक्ष्मोऽव्यक्तः सनातनः ।
सर्वभूतमयोऽचिन्त्यः स एव स्वयमुद्बभौ ॥

The unmanifest (अव्यक्त) is described as तमोभूत, (enveloped in darkness ; cf. तम आसीत्तमसागूढमग्रे, Ṛigveda 10. 129. 3), अप्रज्ञात-अलक्षण-अप्रतर्क्य, unknown and unknowable (cf. अप्रकेतं of the Ṛigveda, 10. 129. 3), प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः, which has reference to the Purāṇic imagery of Vishṇu sleeping on शेष. He is also spoken of as the subtle, eternal, unmanifest principle, the cause of the gross

material elements, and itself beyond the ken of the senses. Such a divinity is called Svayambhū, the self-existent. He is essentially self-centred, वृत्तौजाः, i. e. whose ओजस् or power is originally introverted on himself, but which he releases for the sake of manifestation (व्यञ्जयन्निदम्). Then primeval darkness is dispelled (तमोनुदः) and the imprisoned forces become operative or extrovertly directed (प्रादुरासीत्).

He who is स्वयम्भू creates out of his own body by the power of meditation or तपस्, the succeeding principle called परमेष्ठी, or आपः, the universal mother in whose womb the seed of creation is deposited.

Of this pair स्वयम्भू is the Fiery principle, the Father, that deposits the seed ; and परमेष्ठी is the Watery principle, the Mother, that receives the seed of the cosmos in its womb :

सोऽभिध्याय शरीरात्स्वात्सिसृक्षुर्विविधाः प्रजाः ।
अप एव ससर्जादौ तासु बीजमवासृजत् ॥

(मनु० १।८)

बीज is the same as भुवनस्य रेतः of the Rigveda. आपः is the same as विराज्, or महत्, or आण्ड, the egg.

When the creative seed has been received within it, the cosmic egg becomes the Golden Germ (हिरण्यगर्भ), the same as हैम अण्ड or Golden Egg. The creative seed of स्वयम्भू प्रजापति is called हिरण्य, 'Gold', which is the symbol of Fire (अग्नि), or सूर्य, or प्राण, or the eternally energised force of cosmic pulsation (समञ्चन-प्रसारणम्), an unending rhythm of expansion and contraction that is called काल (Time) or संवत्सर.

Manu uses the three terms नर, नार and नारायण, which should be clearly distinguished. स्वयम्भू प्रजापति is नर, परमेष्ठी प्रजापति is नार and हिरण्यगर्भ प्रजापति is नारायण. When he speaks of सर्वलोकपितामह, he refers to स्वयम्भू and there is a reason behind it.

In the शतपथब्राह्मण, creation is described as the कामप्र यज्ञ of प्रजापति—

ता वा एताः पंचदेवता एतेन कामप्रेण यज्ञेनायजन्त

(शतपथ ११।१।६।१२०)

The Five Deities mentioned here are named as:

१. स्वयम्भू प्रजापति
२. परमेष्ठी
३. सूर्य (=इन्द्र)
४. अग्नि
५. सोम

Amongst them परमेष्ठी (the universal principle which is fecundated) is called प्राजापत्य, son of स्वयम्भू प्रजापति. स्वयम्भू is the father of परमेष्ठी--

स परमेष्ठी प्रजापतिं पितरमब्रवीत् कामप्रंवाऽअहं
यज्ञमदर्शम्, तेन त्वायाजयानीति

(शतपथ ११।१।६।१७)

परमेष्ठी discovered the कामप्र यज्ञ (the creative process by which the universe is brought into existence as fulfilling the काम of the Creator). On the one hand he associated the self-existent स्वयम्भू, his Father, and on the other इन्द्र his son. This इन्द्र is सूर्य, हिरण्याण्ड, and हिरण्यगर्भ, typifying the Twin Pair of अग्नीषोम. The latter are called the Two Brothers (स इन्द्रोऽग्नीषोमौ भ्रातरावब्रवीत् । अनेन वां कामप्रेण यज्ञेन याजयानि, येन मामिदं पिता प्रजापतिरयीयजदिति, श० ११।१।६।१९). The Twin Brothers अग्नि and सोम fulfil this creative process by अग्नि playing the role of अन्नाद and by सोम that of अन्न. The eater of food and food refer to the process of assimilation and elimination, or the function of the वैश्वानर Fire in each individual centre of Life or Prāṇa. The grand कामप्र sacrifice of the Creator is his mainfestation as प्राण in each and every centre:

स इष्ट्वा कामयताहमेवेदँ सर्वँ स्यामिति ।
स प्राणोऽभवत् प्राणो वाऽइदँ सर्वम् अयं वै प्राणो योऽयं पवते ।

(शत० ११।१।६।१७)

'Having performed the कामप्र sacrifice, he desired—'may I become This All (i.e. the universe).' He then became प्राण, for प्राण is this All. This Vāyu (as the symbol of movement) is प्राण.'

प्राण or Life is the principle of cosmic pulsation, the rhythm that is the soul and essence of हिरण्यगर्भ, manifesting within its centre as अग्नि and सोम, as the positive and negative, or the male and female aspects of energy. The Atharva refers to these as the two Fires, one cold (हिम) and the other hot (घ्रंस, अथर्व १३।१।४६, तत्रैतावग्नी आधत्त हिमं घ्रंसं च रोहितः). यज्ञ is a creative process being the outcome of the mingling of hot and cold :

स्वर्विदो रोहितस्य ब्रह्मणाग्निः समिध्यते ।
तस्माद् घ्रंसस्तस्माद्धिमस्तस्माद्यज्ञोऽजायत ॥

The रोहित or the Ruddy is अक्षर, i.e. अग्नि or हिरण्यगर्भ, the Golden Egg quickened with Life, invested with the Twin Fires of heat and cold.

5. क्षोभ

The Purāṇas refer to the principle of क्षोभ, 'agitation,' 'movement', as an essential step to creation. It signifies the awakining of Vishṇu from sleep. It is variously described as गुणवैषम्य, परिस्फुरण, विस्पन्दन.

The Liṅga Purāṇa explains it as follows :—

साधर्म्येणावतिष्ठेते प्रधानपुरुषावुभौ ।
तमः सत्त्वरजोपेतौ समत्वेन व्यवस्थितौ ॥ ७२
अनुपृक्तावभूतां तावोतप्रोतौ परस्परम् ।
गुणसाम्यो लयो ज्ञेयो वैषम्ये सृष्टिरुच्यते ॥ ७३
उपास्य रजनीं कृत्स्नां परां माहेश्वरीं तथा ।
अहर्मुखे प्रवृत्तश्च परः प्रकृतिसम्भवः ॥ ७५
क्षोभयामास योगेन परेण परमेश्वरः । ७६

(लिंग १।७०)

The Supreme Lord by his Yogic power agitated both प्रकृति and पुरुष to emerge from the state of गुणसाम्य to गुणवैषम्य and thereby start the creative process. Maheśvara created the trinitarian principle of the three Gods, the three Guṇas, the three Fires and the three Worlds :

महेश्वरात् त्रयो देवा जज्ञिरे जगदीश्वरात् ।
शाश्वताः परमा गुह्याः सर्वात्मानः शरीरिणः ॥ ७७

एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ।
एत एव त्रयो लोका एत एव त्रयोऽग्नयः ॥ ७८

(लिंग० १।७०)

According to the देवीभागवत when योगनिद्रा entered the body of विष्णु, he was rendered अचेतन and स्पन्दवर्जित (देवी० १।१।७।१८). By the miraculous power of वाक् which is fiery energy, तामसी निद्रा was ejected out of Vishṇu's body and He was roused to activity :

एवं स्तुता तदा देवी तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।
निःसृत्य हरिदेहात्तु संस्थिता पार्श्वतस्तदा ।
विस्पन्दितशरीरोऽसौ यदा जातो जनार्दनः ।
धाता परमिकां प्राप्तो मुदं दृष्ट्वा हरिं ततः ॥

(देवी० १।७।४८,५०)

एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्माविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।
रजःसत्त्वतमोभिश्च संयुताः कार्यकारकाः ॥

In the cosmic egg (ब्रह्माण्ड) there is nothing higher than the principle of the Triple Guṇas or the Three Gods, which is the effective cause of all activity—

The agitated त्रैगुण्य belongs to प्रकृति—

प्रकृतिः क्षोभमापन्ना पुरुषाख्ये जगद्गुरौ ।
महान् प्रादुरभूद् बुद्धिस्ततोऽहं समवर्तत ॥
अहंकाराच्च सूक्ष्माणि तन्मात्राणीन्द्रियाणि च ।

(बृहन्नारदीय० ३।३१-३२)

The great पुरुष, either as स्थाणु महेश्वर, or as निद्रागत विष्णु represents the principle of स्थिति, immovable being, symbolising resistance to all motion, whereas प्रकृति is the excited condition of movement—

स एव क्षोभकः पूर्वं स क्षोभ्यः प्रकृतेः पतिः ।
स संकोचविकाशाभ्यां प्रधानत्वेऽपि च स्थितः ॥ १२
उत्पन्नः स जगद्योनिरगुणोऽपि रजोगुणम् ।
भुंजन् प्रवर्तते सर्गे ब्रह्मत्वं समुपाश्रितः ॥ १३
रजो ब्रह्मा तमो रुद्रो विष्णुः सत्त्वं जगत्पतिः ।
एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ॥१८॥

(मार्कण्डेय० अ० ४६)

शिवेच्छया परा शक्तिः शिवतत्त्वैकतां गता ।
ततः परिस्फुरत्यादौ सर्गे तैलं तिलादिव ॥ १८
तस्यां विक्षोभ्यमाणायामादौ नादः समुद्बभौ ॥ १९

(शिव०, वायवीयसंहिता, २।४)

The principle of क्षोभ is the same as रजस्, अक्षर, अनृत, शक्ति, क्रिया, काल, etc. All these variant terms are used in the Purāṇas.[1]

1. सैका परा च चिद्रूपा शक्तिः प्रसवधर्मिणी ।
विभज्य बहुधा विश्वं विदधाति शिवेच्छया ॥ १५ ॥
एकधा च द्विधा चैव तथा शतसहस्रधा ।
शक्तयः खलु भिद्यन्ते बहुधा व्यवहारतः ॥ १७ ॥

(शिव पु०, वायवीय सं०, २।४)

स्त्रीपुंसप्रभवं विश्वं स्त्रीपुंसात्मकमेव च ।

(शिव०, वाय० सं०, २।४।३७)

ईशो वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो य एको दिवि तिष्ठति ।
येनेदमखिलं पूर्णं पुरुषेण महात्मना ॥ ६ ॥
एको बहूनां जन्तूनां निष्क्रियाणां च सक्रियः ।
य एको बहुधा बीजं करोति स महेश्वरः ॥ ७ ॥
यदिदं क्षरमव्यक्तं यदप्यमृतमक्षरम् ।
तावुभाक्षरात्मानावेको देवः स्वयं हरः ॥ १२ ॥
अयं मुक्तो मोचकश्च ह्यकालः कालचोदकः ॥ १७ ॥

(शिव०, वाय० २।४)

We may go back to the Asyavāmīya Sūkta of the Ṛigveda where the releasing of the waters of the Ocean is called अधिविक्षरण (ṚV. 1.164.42), kindred to the Purāṇic परिस्फुरण, विस्पन्दन etc.

The account in the Harivaṁśa brings in Vasishṭha as the Ṛishi 'born from the jar' (कुम्भसंभवः) who performed तपस् and created the worlds. From his abode in the midst of the Ocean he slightly agitated its waters, and this initial trembling gradually increased so that by its mounting momentum it threw the whole sea into churning convulsions and dimensional waves and from whose friction the fire called Vaiśvānara was produced.[1]

According to the Brāhmaṇas, वसिष्ठ is the designation of प्रजापति, अग्नि and प्राण.[2] The Vasus are प्राणाः and वसिष्ठ is therefore the foremost प्राण, viz. the मध्यप्राण, which begins the process of life and is called इन्ध, and esoterically इन्द्र. He is the enkindled

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1. आपवः स विभुर्भूत्वा कारयामास वै तपः ।
छादयित्वाऽऽत्मनो देहमात्मना कुम्भसंभवः ॥ १ ॥
ततो महात्माऽतिबलो मतिं लोकस्य सर्जने ।
महतां पञ्चभूतानां विश्वभूतो व्यचिन्तयत् ॥ २ ॥
तस्य चिन्तयतस्तत्र तपसा भावितात्मनः ।
निराकाशे तोयमये सूक्ष्मे जगति गह्वरे ॥ ३ ॥
ईषत्संक्षोभयामास सोऽर्णवं सलिले स्थितः ।
सोऽनन्तरोर्मिणा सूक्ष्ममथच्छिद्रमभूत्तदा ॥ ४ ॥
तत्र शब्दगतिर्भूत्वा मारुतद्रवसंभवः ।
स लब्ध्वाऽऽन्तरमक्षोभ्यो व्यवर्धत समीरणः ॥ ५ ॥
विवर्धता बलवता तेन संक्षोभितोऽर्णवः ।
अन्योन्यवेगाभिहता ममन्थुश्चोर्मयो भृशम् ॥ ६ ॥
महार्णवस्य क्षुब्धस्य तस्मिन्नम्भसि मथ्यति ।
कृष्णवर्त्मा समभवत्प्रभुर्वैश्वानरोऽर्चिमान् ॥ ७ ॥
(हरिवंश० ३।११)

2. प्रजापतिर्वै वसिष्ठः, कौषीतकी ब्रा० २५।२
अग्निर्वै देवानां वसिष्ठः, शत० १४।९।२।१४
प्राणो वै वसिष्ठ ऋषिः, शत० ८।१।१।६

flame of life in each Jar, i.e. in the conjoint form of each द्यावापृथिवी unit. In the शान्तिपर्वन् (३२९।२०) वसिष्ठ is called हैरण्यगर्भ, the son of हिरण्यगर्भ प्रजापति.

6. आपो नाराः

With referencc to the एकार्णव विधि, the Purāṇas frequently cite the following verse of the Manu Smṛiti, either as it is or with variants :

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः ।
ता यदस्यायनं पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥
(मनु० १।१०; ब्रह्म पु० ५६।१२, ६०।२५; वायु ५।३८)

The शान्तिपर्वन् has it as follows :

नराणामयनं ख्यातमहमेकः सनातनः ।
आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वैं नरसूनवः ।
अयनं मम तत्पूर्वमतो नारायणो ह्यहम् ॥

Also उद्योगपर्व ६८।१०—

नराणामयनाच्चापि तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ।

This was an ancient गाथा of which the मानव version is the oldest form preserved. Later it became the creed of the भागवतs in variant forms. The doctrine formed part of the .Vedic cosmogony according to which Waters existed in the beginning (आपो ह वाऽइदमग्रे सलिलमेवास, श० ११।१।६।१), and they gave birth to Agni which is अपां गर्भः, or अपां वत्सः. Agni is verily हिरण्यगर्भ, सत्य, नारायण, सूर्य, प्राण.

7. अण्ड

अग्नि meditated upon आपः, united with it and produced the principle of हिरण्य, i. e. pulsating life or the impregnated Egg. हिरण्य is the seed of Agni (अग्ने रेतो हिरण्यम्, श० २।२।३।२८).

अण्ड or Egg is an important symbol in the generative process of life. अण्ड is the same as विराज् (यस्मादण्डं विराड् जज्ञे भूतेन्द्रियगुणात्मकः,

भाग० ३।६।२ ; also ३।५।३४-३५). Virāj is the mother principle, सोम or आपः, or परमेष्ठी—

यस्मिन् विराट् परमेष्ठो प्रजापतिरग्निर्वैश्वानरः सह पंक्त्या श्रितः ।
यः परस्य प्राणं परमस्य तेज आददे ॥

(अथर्व १३।३।५)

As प्राण enkindles the *ādhyātmika* centre and the Sun heats the *adhidaivata* or cosmos, so does the indwelling Purusha heat the Virāj both from inside and outside (स्वधिष्ण्यं प्रतपन् प्राणो वहिश्च प्रतपत्यसौ । एवं विराजं प्रतपंस्तपत्यन्तर्वहिः पुमान् ॥ भाग० ३।६।१६). There are two categories, the first is called विराट् or परमेष्ठी, and the second अग्नि वैश्वानर or प्राण. This refers to the two stages of the egg, viz. the ovum in the mother and its quickening by the seed of the father after which it becomes the fertilised egg.

In the दाक्षायणी सूक्त of the ऋग्वेद, the two stages of the Egg are clearly distinguished. Aditi, the Infinite Mother gave birth to eight sons who sprang to life from her body. With seven she went to meet the Gods, and the eighth was Mārtaṇḍa which she cast far away (परा मार्तण्डमास्यत्, ऋ० १०।७२।८). The Seven Gods constitute together the active energising principles of Life, Mind and Matter as the Seven Prāṇas or the Seven Vasus. The eighth मार्तण्ड is dormant, when thrown outside the bounds of Time (काल, संवत्सर). When Aditi unites मार्तण्ड with the cycle of birth and death (प्रजायै मृत्यवे त्वत्), which is the same as the wheel of Time (संवत्सर चक्र), the cast away मार्तण्ड is revivified as the yonder Sun or Hiraṇya-garbha. The fecundating principle of विराज् is काल, the universal propeller (चोदक), that imparts movement or rhythmic pulsation to all centres of manifest life. काल is नारायण पुरुष, विष्णु who enters all beings as the Thread Spirit and quickens them. In the Bhāga-vata, the dormant egg is called अजीव and the active one जीव (वर्षपूग सहस्रांते तदण्डमुदकेशयम् । कालकर्मस्वभावस्थो जीवोऽजीवमजीवयत् ॥ ३।६।३४). विष्णु when he awakens from sleep accepts three principles of काल, कर्म and स्वभाव with which he quickens the active egg.

As in the Śatapatha : Verily in the beginning this (universe) was water (आपः); nothing but a sea of excited water (सलिल). The

waters (as the all-pervasive mother) desired, 'How can we be reproduced?' They toiled and performed *tapas*. When they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced (हिरण्मयम् आण्डम् संबभूव). The year (संवत्सर), indeed, was not then in existence: this golden egg floated about for as long as the space of a year. In a year's time पुरुष was produced therefrom: he is प्रजापति.' (Śatapatha, 11. 1. 6. 1-2).

In manifestation प्रजापति becomes twofold, viz. यज्ञ and संवत्सर. The यज्ञ form is विराज् or the egg, and संवत्सर the unit of time for the maturity of that egg. When the Creator has completed the span of one year, or the single revolving unit of time, He becomes सहस्रायु, i. e. destined to live a thousand years or up to the end of creation.

प्रजापति completed the span of a year, he stood up and broke open the golden egg :

संवत्सरे हि प्रजापतिरजायत । स इदँ हिरण्मयमाण्डं व्यरुजत् ।

(शत० ११।१।६।२)

When the egg broke, the three worlds, द्यौः पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं, which constitute the space of each individuating centre, were produced from it :

तस्मिन्नंडे स भगवानुषित्वा परिवत्सरम् ।
स्वयमेवात्मनो ध्यानात्तदण्डमकरोद्द्विधा ॥
ताभ्यां स शकलाभ्यां च दिवं भूमिं च निर्ममे ।
मध्ये व्योम दिशश्चाष्टावपां स्थानं च शाश्वतम् ॥

(मनु १।१२।१३)

The principle of संवत्सर is equivalent to the two integrated unis of expansion and contraction (संकोच-विकास, विष्णु० १।२।३१), the two wings of the golden Bird of Time (हिरण्यपक्ष शकुनि) who flaps his pinions for a thousand years :

यः सहस्रसमे सत्रे जज्ञे विश्वसृजामृषिः ।
हिरण्यवर्णः शकुनिस्तस्मै हंसात्मने नमः ॥

(शान्तिपर्व, ४७।२९)

He is the golden goose destined to be on wings in a flight to heaven for *a thousand days' duration* :

सहस्राह्ण्यं वियतावस्य पक्षौ हरेर्हंसस्य पततः स्वर्गम् ।.

(अथर्व १३।३।१४)

Gold (हिरण्य) is a favourite epithet in Vedic symbolism. Vrātya Prajāpati, intent on creating life, has a vision of gold within himself and then he engenders :

स प्रजापतिः स्वर्णमात्मन्नपश्यत्तत्प्राजनयत् ।

(अथर्व० १५।१।२)

सुवर्ण or हिरण्य, is the seed (रेतः) which is the universal cause of generation, and is the same as प्राण.

The significance of 'Golden Egg' floating in the waters for a year was thus well understood in Vedic and Purāṇic cosmogony. Its name as प्रजापति or नारायण विष्णु made no change to the basic idea. It is the active centre of सत्य in the watery ocean of ऋत. आपः or ऋत points to the all-pervasive primordial matter, defined as यदाप्नोत् तस्मादापः (श० ६।१।१।९; अद्भिर्वाऽइदं सर्वमाप्तम्, श० १।१।१।१४, same as एकार्णव, 'the One Ocean').

हिरण्यगर्भ is the unit of life, the egg, that has the indewelling spirit within it, that is destined, because of the power of life, to be born and to die again (प्रजायै मृत्यवे त्वत्). The अण्ड is defined as the विराज् with ब्रह्मा entering it and being born again as अधिपुरुष (cf. भाग० ३।६।४). The latter is the same as वैराज मनु, i. e. Manu or Mind as the offspring of विराज्, the same as विवस्वान्. The Sun is verily the object of these symbols :

हिरण्यवर्णं यं गर्भमदितिर्दैत्यनाशनम् ।
एकं द्वादशधा जज्ञे तस्मै सूर्यात्मने नमः ।

(शान्तिपर्व, ४७।२३)

हिरण्यगर्भ is सूर्य, the womb of the Great Mother Goddess Aditi. He is the रोहित, the Red One (अथर्व० १३।१।१), concealed within the Ocean (यो अप्स्वन्तः) and now thrown up by the

concentrated force of the universal creative laws, as the most perfect visible symbol in the whole of the creation. Homage is paid to him under many names: रुद्र, महादेव, अर्यमा, वरुण, अग्नि, सूर्य, महायम (अथर्व० १३।४।४-५). He represents the ten calves with a single head (तं वत्सा उपतिष्ठन्त्येकशीर्षाणो युता दश, अथर्व० १३।४।६), i.e. the perfect symbol of विराज् which has ten constituent elements. As इन्द्र he shines in the centre of the heavens—

स इन्द्रो भूत्वा तपति मध्यतो दिवम् ।

(अथर्व० १३।३।१३)

He is सविता, also called महेन्द्र, the Mighty Indra (अथर्व० १३।४।१-२).

It may be mentioned that the Purāṇas define the Egg as consisting of seven constituents, viz. Mahat or Buddhi, Ahaṁkāra, and the Five Tanmātrās (महदाद्या विशेषान्ता ह्यण्डमुत्पादयन्ति ते, विष्णु० १।२।५०, लिंग० १।३।१८; Kirfel, ibid., p. 9). The egg is nothing else except an envelope of these seven, viz. Manas, Prāṇa and the Five Elements. Each individual centre is an egg, having its प्रजापति ब्रह्मा, and a whole miniature universe within it:

तस्मिन्नण्डे त्विमे लोका अन्तर्विश्वमिदं जगत् ।
अण्डं दशगुणेनैव वारिणा प्रावृतं वहिः ॥

(लिंग० १।३।२९-३०)

The universe is equal to millions and billions of such eggs:

सप्ताण्डावरणान्याहुस्तस्यात्मा कमलासनः ।
कोटिकोटियुतान्यत्र चाण्डानि कथितानि तु ॥

(लिंग० १।३।३३)

As a side issue of the एकार्णवविधि is the description of ऋषि मार्कण्डेय and the वटपत्रशायी बालनारायण floating on the surface of the billowy ocean (हरिवंश, ३।१०।१२-६९). मार्कण्डेय is the ancient sage, (बहुवर्षसहस्रायु, हरि० ३।१०।३७) endowed with a life of many thousand years. He is the same as मार्तण्ड, whom divine mother Aditi brought to life for the cyclic process of प्रजनन and मृत्यु. मार्कण्डेय is thus the symbol of Time. मार्कण्डेय is the son of अंगिरा, the latter

being but another name of अग्नि. बालनारायण is the newly created life, the Young Boy, कुमार, who is fresh with every new lease of the creative process (नवो नवो भवति जायमानः). As the Babe, he typifies the Unconscious, that is bound to incarnate in creation as the conscious mind. He is described as engaged in his pastime (क्रीडा, लीला) for the purpose of creation, a natural spontaneous expression, involving no conscious effort.

8. Painting

The beautiful painting reproduced with this article is from an illustrated Bhāgavata manuscript which has now become dispersed. The painting is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan museum of the Banaras Hindu University and is reproduced with the kind permission of its Director, Rai Krishnadasa.

The painting belongs to the best phase of the Pahari School of Kangra and may be assigned to circa 1775-1800 A. D. It is the work of a genius, a rare example of symbolic illustration cultivated under the Pahari idiom. The billowy ocean, its mounting waves and turning watery spirals are depicted with grand success and their harmonious effect becomes impressed on the mind. Against a blue blackground is depicted हिरण्यगर्भ, the Golden Egg, radiant with brilliant gold. The miniature is an æsthetic creation of charming quality both for its drawing and colour. In its silent way it imparts a meaning that is deep beyond words. On the reverse is inscribed the following śloka of श्रीमद्भागवत--

हिरण्मयः स पुरुषः सहस्रपरिवत्सरान् ।
आण्डकोश उवासाप्सु सर्वसत्त्वोपबृंहितः ॥

(भाग० ३।६।६)

'With Water all round, lay within the shell of the Egg, the Golden Purusha, with his team of universal beings, for the duration of a thousand years.' The golden radiance of the Egg shining through its seven shells (सप्तावरण, विष्णु १।२।१०) is the Tapas or Prāṇic Power of नारायण पुरुष lying with it.

9. The Egg–Its Moden View

The quickened Egg is an important biological conception. Each individual animal begins life as an egg and attains maturity or its adult structure in a period (which constitutes his संवत्सर) arbitrarily determined. With perhaps a very few exceptions all multicellular animals reproduce sexually (cf. the Fater-Mother, or Sky-Earth conception in the splitting of the egg). The Mother principle is the विराज् and the Father principle is the seed-depositing or quickening स्वयम्भू called नारायण, because he fixes his abode in the watery cell (नाराः, आपः, विराज्). The new individual obtains life by a fusion of the two cells, one, the spermatozoon being produced by the male, and the other, the ovum or egg (अण्ड) by the female parent. These two reproductive cells always differ greatly in size and appearance, but have an equal influence on the characters of the animal arising from their fusion. Fertilisation is the act of fusion of a spermatazoon or the male cell with an egg or the female ovum. This releases a series of most miraculous developments accompanied by the division of cells and successive cleavages which give rise to the central nervous system and the associated systems, like the respiratory, circulatory, digestive, excretory and procreative. This is a field of study of the modern science of embroyology.

10. नारायणस्य चेष्टयानुप्रविष्टमाण्डम्

In the Purāṇic accounts too, the egg is a complex structure in terms of its cosmogonic data. For example, it is stated in the Bhāgavata that the immobile (कूटस्थ) Purusha deposits its seed in the विराज् or आण्ड (egg), and with His divine potency known as काल (Time) the egg is entered simultaneously by twenty-three creative categories (त्रयोविंशतिक गण) as follows :

१ महत्तत्व

२ अहंकार

३ मनस्

४-८ पंच ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि
९-१३ पंच कर्मेन्द्रियाणि
१४-१८ पंच तन्मात्राः
१९-२३ पंच भूतानि

These 23 Tattvas constitute the अधिपूरुष within the womb of the egg known together as विश्वसृट्. By themselves these categories stand disconnected and therefore are unable to start the work of creation. Having entered all of these at one and the same time Nārāyaṇa as the अन्तर्यामी Purusha, unites them by His active power, and stimulates their dormant energy. When they are thus roused into activity, the twentythree categories, impelled as they are by God, evolve the cosmic as well as the individual Body out of their own parts and undergo transformation as a result of mutual cooperation :

सोऽनुप्रविष्टो भगवांश्चेष्टारूपेण तं गणम् ।
भिन्नं संयोजयामास सुप्तं कर्म प्रबोधयन् ॥३

प्रबुद्धकर्मा दैवेन त्रयोविंशतिको गणः ।
प्रेरितोऽजनयत् स्वाभिर्मात्राभिरधिपूरुषम् ॥ ४

परेण विशता स्वस्मिन् मात्रया विश्वसृग्गणः ।
चुक्षोभान्योऽन्यमासाद्य यस्मिंल्लोकाश्चराचराः ॥ ५

(भागवत ३।६)

Brahmā, Rudra and Vishṇu,—the three Gods or the Triple Guṇas—all dwell in the Egg, and a whole universe with its systems of many worlds inhere within the subtle womb of the Egg :

जलबुद्बुदवत्तस्मादवतीर्णः पितामहः ॥२८
स एव भगवान् रुद्रो विष्णुर्विश्वगतः प्रभुः ।
तस्मिन्नण्डे त्विमे लोका अन्तर्विश्वमिदं जगत ॥२९

(लिंग० १।३)

The Egg is the material manifestation (प्राकृत सर्ग) of the Divine Person (पुरुषाधिष्ठित, लिंग० १।३।३९). The Divine Potency and the inherent energy of the Egg impel it to attain its numerical evolutions as One, Threefold and Tenfold.[1] The One is called its Centre (हृदय), the Three are *adhyātma*, *adhidaiva* and *adhibhūta*, and the Ten are the ten Prāṇic constituents of Virāj.[2]

Virāj is also the name of the Cosmic Cow (विराड् वै गौः, श० ७।५।२।१९ ; यजु १३।४३, गां मा हिंसीरदितिं विराजम्). She is Aditi, the Universal Divine Mother, whose child is the fertilised Egg—हिरण्यगर्भ. He is सूर्य and its प्राण, the Life principle symbolised by the Sun (प्राणः प्रजानामुदयत्येष सूर्यः, मुं० उ० ६।८). He is the Navel of Immortality (प्राणः प्रजानाममृतस्य नाभिः, अथर्व० ९।१।४), the Dispenser of the immortal and the mortal in their respective spheres (निवेशयन्नमृतं मर्त्यं च, ऋ० १।३५।२). Each centre of manifestation is a Golden Calf, produced from its Golden Egg. Homage to each हिरण्यगर्भ floating in its cosmic moisture and concealing within it all the possibilities of existence.

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1 स वै विश्वसृजां गर्भो देवकर्मात्मशक्तिवान् ।
विबभाजात्मनात्मानमेकधा दशधा त्रिधा ॥७॥
साध्यात्मः साधिदैवश्च साधिभूत इति त्रिधा ।
विराट् प्राणो दशविध एकधा हृदयेन च ॥९॥

(भागवत० ३।६)

2. In Vedic data, the ten elements of विराज् include—1. प्राण, 2. देवता, 3. ऋतु, 4. दिक्, 5. छन्द, 6. स्तोम, 7. पृष्ठ, 8. साम, 9. ग्रह, and 10. ऋषि (पं० मधुसूदन ओझा, महर्षिकुल वैभव, p. 227). These are the ten sons of वैराजमनु, the ten primeval Prajāpati Ṛishis named Bhṛigu, Angiras, Atri, Vasishṭha, Prachetas, Nārada, Marichi, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu (Manu 1.35).

IMPORTANT WORDS FROM THE PURĀṆAS

[In this standing column it is proposed to collect important words from the Purāṇas with short explanatory notes. Scholars are requested kindly to send their contributions. Each word-note will appear under the name of its contributor.—Editor].

[अस्यां टिप्पण्यां पुराणवाङ्मयस्य विशेषाः शब्दाः क्रमशो व्याख्याता भविष्यन्ति । तत्राद्ये स्थाने 'अरणिः' [=माता, जननी] 'मंडलिका' [=कूपिका, गंडकुसूलश्च] इति शब्दद्वयं संगृहीतम् ।]

(I) अरणि

The word अरणि denoted the churning fire-sticks to generate fire for the Yajña. In several Purāṇas it has been known in the special sense of 'mother', 'generatrix'. It appears that this special meaning developed in the Sanskrit speech of the Gupta period. The following examples have been noted during the course of my readings :

(१) गुहारणि = mother of गुह or कार्त्तिकेय—

ततो जगत्पतिप्राणहेतुर्हिमगिरिप्रिया ।
ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते सुभगे व्यसूयत गुहारणिम् ॥

(मत्स्य० १५४।९६)

i.e. मेना, wife of Himālaya, gave birth to पार्वती who was to be the mother of गुह.

(२) विश्वारणि—

दाता महीभृतां नाथो होता देवश्चतुर्मुखः ।
वरः पशुपतिः साक्षात् कन्या विश्वारणिस्तथा ॥

(मत्स्य० १५४।४८४।४८५)

i.e., in the wedding ceremony, of Śiva and Pārvatī, Paśupati Śiva was the bridegroom, and Pārvatī, the mother of the universe (विश्वारणि), was the bride.

(३) वातारणि—

तत्राभिमानी भगवान्वायुश्चातिक्रियात्मकः ।
वातारणिः समाख्यातः शब्दशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥ (वायु० २।४४)

i.e., 'The presiding deity of the five organs of sense, whose special function is motion, is Vāyu who is called the 'mother' of, 'Vāta' by specialists in the science of etymology.

(४) सुरारणि—

सन्नतिश्चानुसूयाञ्च ऊर्जां स्वाहां सुरारणिम् ।
स्वधाञ्चैव महाभागां प्रददौ च यथाक्रमम् ॥ (लिंग० १।५।१२)

i.e., प्रसूति gave birth from दक्ष to 24 daughters, including स्वाहा who became the 'mother of gods'.

(५) भार्गवारणि—

उपयेमे भृगुर्धीमान् ख्यातिं तां भार्गवारणिम् ।
(लिंग० १।५।२४)

i. e., Bhṛigu, the wise one, married ख्याति, who became the mother of भार्गव शु.क्र

(६) जगतोऽरणिः—

प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य च तां देवीं स जगतोऽरणीम् ।
किमर्थं तपसा लोकान् संतापयसि शैलजे ॥
(लिंग० १।१०।२।४)

i. e. शिव having respectfully gone round पार्वती, 'the mother of the world', enquired the cause of her austerities which were causing pain to the worlds.

Here the word-form in the printed text of जीवानन्द (Calcutta, 1885) is अरणी, but the short form अरणि suits the metre as well as in the following example.

(७) जगतोऽरणिः—

अथ सा तस्य वचनं निशम्य जगतोऽरणिः ।
विवेश दैवी देवस्य देवेशी जन्मतत्परा ॥
(लिंग० १।१०६।१०)

i. e. having heard his words, देवी पार्वती, 'mother of the worlds' entered the body of her Lord.'

(८) अमृतस्यारणि :—

अमृतस्यारणिस्त्वं हि देवयोनिरपां पते ।
वृजिनं हर मे सर्वं तीर्थराज नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
(ब्रह्म० ६०।४५)

While performing समुद्र-स्नान, one should recite :

'O lord of the waters, you are the progenitor of अमृत and womb of all the deities.'

(९) सुरारणि—

या च सा सुरभिर्नाम अदितिश्च सुरारणिः ।
तेऽप्युभे तस्य भार्ये वै तेनैव सह यास्यतः ॥
(हरिवंश० १।५५।२४)

'She who is named सुरभि, and she who is called अदिति, 'mother of the gods'—both were the wives of Kaśyapa.'

सुरारणिर्गर्भमधत्त दिव्यं तपःप्रकर्षाददितिः पुराणम् ।
(हरिवंश० १।४०।२५)

नीलकंठ—सुरारणिः देवमाता अदितिर्नाम ।

(१०) विषारणि—

दुःखोपसर्प्यं तीरेषु ससर्पैर्विपुलैर्बिलैः ।
विषारणिभवस्याग्नेर्धूमेन परिवेष्टितम् ॥
(हरिवंश० २।११।४४)

नीलकंठ translates विषारणयः as सर्पाः i. e. serpents which are the 'producers of poison.'

(११) नाभ्यारणि—

नाभ्यारण्यां समुत्पन्नं यस्य पैतामहं गृहम् ।
एकार्णवजलस्थस्य नष्टे स्थावरजंगमे ॥
(हरिवंश० १।४०।२१)

He from whose 'navel as the mother' was prduced the abode of Brahmā, is Vishṇu sleeping in the waters of the primeval ocean,

नीलकंठ—नाभ्या नाभिदेशेन उपलक्षिता अरणिः मन्थनदण्डतुल्यं नालं तस्यां नाभ्यारण्यां पैतामहं गृहं पद्मम् ।

It is doubtful if नीलकंठ is on the right track in taking अरणि as मन्थनदण्ड. The correct reading seems to be नाभ्यरण्यां (नाभि + अरणि) 'the navel as the mother of the (lotus that is the) abode of Brahmā.

It appears to me that this special figurative meaning of the word अरणि was a development in the Sanskrit language of the Gupta period. In confirmation of that, the following verse of the चतुर्भाणी may be cited :

एषा कामिकरांगुलिप्रियसखी नाभिह्रदांभःस्रुतिः
विद्युत् क्षौमबलाहकस्य रुचिरा कार्कश्ययोग्यारणिः ।
मौर्वी कामशरासनस्य ललिता वाक् श्रोणिबिंबस्य ते
छिन्ना मानिनि मेखला रतिसुखाभ्यासाक्षमाला कथम् ॥

(धूर्तविटसंवाद, श्लोक १९)

The waist-band or girdle of the heroine is here described in several ways by comparing it to diverse objects and one of them is कार्कश्ययोग्यारणिः. The meaning is rather obscure, and I have explained it at legnth in the light of a reference from classical Sanskrit literature, viz. the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa (IV. 8), in my annotated edition of the Chaturbhāṇī (text and translation), p. 80, footnote १९(अ).[1] कार्कश्ययोग्या is a new word, signifying the मलखंभ exercise which imparts muscular firmness to the body of a wrestler, and is figuratively indicative of पुरुषायित रति by the heroine against the body of the hero In such a situation the belt which was usually the zone of the heroine was tied by her to be the waist-band of the hero :

स्मरसि स्मर मेखलागुणैरुत गोत्रस्खलितेषु बन्धनम् ।
च्युतकेसरदूषितेक्षणान्यवतंसोत्पलताडनानि वा ॥

(कुमार० ४।८)

१. चतुर्भाणी, Published 1959, (Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Hirabagh, Bombay).

So the मेखला fastened to the hero was the 'mother of some tough erotic exercise' for the heroine.

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II. मण्डलिका

The word is used in the ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण—

चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणाञ्च कृत्वा मण्डलिकां शुभाम् ।
तीर्थान्यावाहयेत्तत्र हस्तं दत्त्वा तपोधन ॥
(ब्रह्मखंड २६।६५)

To perform the daily ablution, one should prepare a मण्डलिका of the depth of 6 feet and invoke the celebrated tīrthas by immersing one's hand in its water.

मण्डलिका is a new word, not recorded in the lexicons in this special sense, viz. 'a ring-well, a small reservoir of water,' which is made by superimposing a series of rings of baked clay. These have been found during archaeological excavations at many a historical site in north India. They served as temporary wells or storage devices for water and grain, or as soakage pits.

In the recently published Jaina text अंगविज्जा, मंडलभूमि is mentioned as the place where such rings were fixed,[1] each of which was called a मंडल, and still bears the name मॉंडल in Bengal, and गांड in the Uttar Pradesh (derived from गंड).

The best example of its use is found in the Divyāvadāna (Cowell's edn., p. 359. 19) :

किं सर्षपेन समतां नयसीह मेरुं ।
खद्योतकेन रवि मण्डलिना समुद्रम् ॥

Edgerton explains it as 'a small body of water in contrast with the ocean, as a mustard-seed with Mt. Meru, or a firefly with the sun.' He, however, adds—'I cannot explain the word'

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१. वायव्वेसु वच्चभूमीयं णिधितं ति बूया, मंडलभूमीगतं वा बूया । Aṅgavijjā (Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi—5), p. 222.

(Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, p, 416). Now on the basis of the word मण्डल, 'a ring', it is possible to understand correctly the word मण्डलिन् and its alternative form मण्डलिका as 'a ring-well.' We also find its use in the सुभाषितत्रिशती of भर्तृहरि—

ब्रह्माडं मण्डलीमात्रं किं लाभाय मनस्विनः ।
शफरीस्फुरितेनाब्धिः क्षुब्धो न खलु जायते ॥

(वैराग्यशतक, श्लो० १२, D. D. Kosambi edn. from निर्णयसागर)

Here the whole universe is said to be of the limited capacity of a मण्डली and hence despised by the wise as being of no use to him.

Archaeologists have discovered that these ring-structures were put to a threefold use, viz. as (1) soakage pits, (2) storage jars, and (3) small water-reservoirs or wells. This is confirmed by the use of the words as recorded above.

The अंगविज्जा reference to मण्डलभूमि as a pair word with वच्चभूमि, indicates its meaning as the place of a soakage-pit made by arranging a number of rings (*maṇḍalas*) one above the other.

The reference in the Vairāgya-Śataka of Bhartṛihari to ब्रह्माण्ड being compared to a मण्डली indicates that the latter was a device for storage of grain, etc., having in its hollow a limited capacity. This was exactly what was also known as a गंड-कुसूल, where गण्ड is synonymous with मंडल (For गंडकुसूल, see हर्षचरित, Nirnaya Sagara edn., VII. p. 230).

The Divyāvadāna mention of मण्डलिन् and the ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण reference to मण्डलिका both denote 'the temporary wells made of circular hoops of kiln-burnt earthenware for sides' (Grierson, *Behar Peasant Life*, 2nd edn., Patna, 1926, p. 205, para 924.)*

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* See also my note on *maṇḍalin* in the JAOS, Vol. 79 (1959), p. 30.

NĀRĀYAṆA MAHĀRṆAVA

(नारायणमहार्णवः)

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[मत्स्यपुराणे स्थलद्वये नारायणमहार्णवस्य वर्णनमुपलभ्यते । द्वादशार्कमयद्वीपः, रुद्रैकादशपत्तनः, वस्वष्टाचलसंयुक्तः इति विशेषणत्रयस्य प्राचीन-भूगोलसंमता व्याख्याऽत्र क्रियते ।]

The Matsya Purāṇa contains a passage of great literary merit describing the Ocean as 'नारायणमहार्णवः'. The passage is repeated twice, in ch. 172 (ślokas 30b-37a) and in ch. 248 (ślokas 22b-26). The passage occurring in ch. 248 (Ān. edn.,) is as follows :

द्वादशार्कमयद्वीपो रुद्रैकादशपत्तनः ॥२२
वस्वष्टाचलसंयुक्तस्त्रैलोक्याम्भोमहोदधिः। सिद्धसाध्योर्मिकलिलः सुपर्णानिलसेवितः॥२३
दैत्यलोकमहाग्राहो रक्षोरगझषाकुलः । पितामहमहाधैर्यः स्वर्गस्त्रीरत्नभूषितः ॥२४
धीश्रीह्रीकान्तिभिर्नित्यं नदीभिरुपशोभितः । कालयोगमहापर्वप्रयागगतिवेगवान् ॥२५
त्वं स्वयोगमहावीर्यो नारायणमहार्णवः। कालो भूत्वा प्रसन्नाभिरद्भिर्ह्लादयसे पुनः ॥२६

Its correct textual position will be decided by the editor of the projected critical edition. We here give thought only to its interpretation.

The passage seeks to describe Nārāyaṇa as the great Ocean. From its phraseology we are, however, left free to interpret it the other way also, viz. to think of the Ocean as the very embodiment of Nārāyaṇa. To think both ways was in fact the accepted dictum of the poetic imagery during the Gupta age, as reflected in the following description given by Kālidāsa :

तां तामवस्थां प्रतिपद्यमानं स्थितं दश व्याप्य दिशो महिम्ना ।
विष्णोरिवास्यानवधारणीयं ईदृक्तया रूपमियत्तया वा ॥

(रघु० XIII. 5)

The two doctrines of ईदृक्ता and इयत्ता were elaborated in the metaphysics of the new Bhāgavata movement as recorded in the well-known अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (ch. X). In the above verse the Ocean is made an object of their application.

Now turning to the Matsya passage, the Ocean is described as follows :—

(1) द्वादशार्कमयद्वीपः —Vishṇu as the son of Aditi is one of the twelve Ādityas, or the twelve Ādityas represent his various

forms. These are compared to the twelve Dvīpas of the Mahārṇava or the Indian Ocean, as reckoned at the time when the passage was compiled. We have varied references in Sanskrit literature to चतुर्द्वीप, सप्तद्वीप, त्रयोदशद्वीप[1] and अष्टादशद्वीप[2], besides the present one to द्वादशद्वीप. Bāṇa mentions several times the अष्टादशद्वीप conception[3] of Bhāratavarsha. Two and a half centuries before him Kālidāsa had also referred to the King of Māhishmatī as 'अष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूपः' (रघु०, VI, 38). The number 'eighteen' seems to have included the following names as may be compiled from references in the मञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प and other Purāṇic and literary sources :—

1. कुमारीद्वीप (which became the name of भारतवर्ष in the Gupta period), 2. इन्द्रद्वीप (Andamans), 3. कशेरुमान्, 4. ताम्रपर्णी (Ceylon), 5. गभस्तिमान्, 6. नागद्वीप (Nicobar), 7. सौम्यकद्वीप, 8. गन्धर्वद्वीप (or पण्युपायन), 9. वारुणद्वीप. (For these well-known nine Dvīpas see Matsya 114, 7–9; Vāyu 45, 78–80 and Mārkaṇḍeya 57, 6–7).

The मञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (Vol. II. p. 322) gives the following additional names :—

कर्मरङ्गद्वीप, नारिकेलद्वीप, वारुषकद्वीप, नग्नद्वीप, बलिद्वीप and यवद्वीप.

We also get the following names from other sources :—

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1. *cf.* त्रयोदश समुद्रस्य द्वीपानश्नन् पुरूरवाः (आदिपर्व, Poona edn., 134. 19); त्रयोदशद्वीपवती मही च (आरण्यकपर्व, 70. 17); but the Vāyu Purāṇa reads अष्टादश समुद्रस्य द्वीपानश्नन् पुरूरवाः (2, 15).

2. cf. (a) इमानष्टादशद्वीपान् समुद्रान् सपर्वतान् (लिङ्ग पु० 20, 22)

(b) महालयविधानेन कृतवीर्यसुतो बली ।
अष्टादशानां द्वीपानामाधिपत्यमवाप्तवान् ॥
(स्कन्द०, ब्रह्मखण्ड, सेतुमाहात्म्य, 36, 189)

(c) ततो नलिकानिरूपमालिख्य फलके मया ।
मही साष्टादशद्वीपा परिक्रान्ता वरार्थिना ॥
(बुधस्वामि कृत बृहत्कथाश्लोकसंग्रह, 19, 180)

3. (a) भ्रूलतादिष्टादष्टादशद्वीपे दिलीपे (हर्षचरित, Nirṇaya Sāgar edn. 1925, VI, p 179).

(b) अष्टादशद्वीपाष्टमंगलकमालिनी मेदिनी (Ibid., p. 185).

(c) अष्टादशद्वीपजेतव्याधिकारे (Ibid., p. 203).

(d) अष्टादशद्वीपमालिनी मेदिनी (कादम्बरी, P. L. Vaidya edn., p. 261).

मलयद्वीप, कटाहद्वीप (Kedah in North Malaya; जानकीहरण, 1, 17), सुवर्णद्वीप (Sumatra; कथासरित्सागर, 56, 62), कर्पूरद्वीप (ibid., 56, 62).

The conception of the द्वादशद्वीपs seems to belong to a time earlier than Kālidāsa and may be put to about the third century A.D.

(2) रुद्रैकादशपत्तन: —Just as the eleven Rudras are a manifestation of the single God Rudra who in terms of the Trideva conception of the Purāṇas is an aspect of the same reality as Nārāyaṇa, similarly the Ocean has its amplified greatness in the form of एकादश पत्तनs or the eleven commercial sea-ports situated on its long coast-line. What these eleven sea-ports were is a question deserving some thought. The list seems to have comprised the following :—

1. प्रभास पत्तन, 2. भृगुकच्छ पत्तन (the सभापर्व refers to it as a पत्तन), 3. शूर्पारक पत्तन, 4. मुरची पत्तन (किष्किन्धाकांड ४२।१३), 5. नागपत्तन, 6. कावेरी पत्तन, 7. द्रमिल पत्तन (most probably the same as Kāverī Pattana or Puhāra elaborately described in the Tamil classic Śilappādhikāram; Daṇḍin's अवन्तिसुन्दरी कथा, p. 177); 8. मुसली पत्तन (near the mouth of the Krishṇā), 9. विशाखा पत्तन, 10. कलिङ्ग पत्तन, 11. ताम्रलिप्ती पत्तन, 12. प्रियङ्गु पत्तन (वसुदेव हिण्डी, Atmananda Jain Granthamālā edition, p. 145).

The number of Pattanas like that of the Dvīpas increased in later literature; e. g. there is a reference to a सार्थवाह (sea-merchant) whose fame had spread to the eighteen Dvīpas and who had trade connections with nineteen Pattanas ('अष्टादश द्वीप कीर्तिविख्यात, एकोनविंशतिपत्तननायक', सभाशृङ्गारवर्णकसंग्रह, edited by Agarchand Nahata, p. 36).

(3) वस्वष्टाचलसंयुक्त: —This refers to the eight mountains situated along the above mentioned extensive sea-coast. This list may have included the सोमगिरि near the confluence of the Indus with the sea (सिन्धुसागरयोश्चैव संगमे तत्र पर्वतः । महान् सोमगिरिर्नाम शतशृंगो महाद्रुमः ॥ किष्किन्धा, ४२।१५), the रैवतक mountain in Saurāshṭra, the सह्याद्रि along the Konkan coast, the दर्दुर and मलय mountains in Tamil land, and the महेन्द्र mountain (रघु०, VI. 54). This list may have included the other mountains along the sea-coast of Greater India of which three important names are given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. शिशिर पर्वत beyond Java (यवद्वीपमतिक्रम्य शिशिरो नाम पर्वतः, ४०।३१), ऋषभ पर्वत (कि० ४०।४४) and उदय पर्वत (कि० ४०।५४).

The constituent elements of this important reference to the Indian Ocean point to a period of brisk trans-naval commerce and colonising activities between the mainland of Bhāratavarsha and the Dvīpāntara islands, a phenomenon of national history during the Śaka-Sātavāhana-Gupta epoch (cir. 1st cent.—4th cent. A.D.).

REVIEW

पुराणेतिहाससंग्रह:—An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas. Edited by S. K. De and R. C. Hazra. Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi ; pp. 1–116 महाभारत; pp. 117–164 रामायण; pp. 167–354 पुराणानि .

The present Anthology by two distinguished Savants consists of selections from the Itihāsa and Purāṇa literature. According to traditional computation the two together comprise about 5 lacs of verses, of which this selection contains only about 5 thousand. It is the quality of the selected passages that has a charming appeal and is enough to acquaint us with the human aspect and the literary excellence of this vast literature. Certainly there is much in them that is prosaic, but there is much more that is grand and superbly beautiful by all the tests of rhetoric charm, ethical tone and the intensely human aroma of emotional and objective descriptions. The selections bear out this aspect , e. g. the two passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. अशोकवनिकायां सीता (रा० ५।१५) and रावणभय-कातरा सीता (रा० ५।१९।२–२१). The description of Sītā in the Aśoka-grove is a superb creation of Vālmīki's genins, a rare flash of poetic art, releasing a flood of similes to create a varied picture of diverse forms familiar under the Indian sky No one having once read can ever forget it. Similar in aesthetic charm is the description of Sītā as seen by Rāvaṇa, which is gripping and worthy of frequent recitation. Where can one find in literature such comparisons as स्मृतिमिव संदिग्धाम् , ऋद्धिं निपतितामिव, विहतामिव च श्रद्धाम् , आशां प्रतिहतामिव, सोपसर्गां यथा सिद्धिम् , बुद्धिं सकलुषामिव, अभूतेनापवादेन कीर्तिं निपतितामिव, आम्नायनामयोगेन विद्यां प्रशिथिलामिव, संस्कारेण यथा हीनां वाचमर्थान्तरं गताम् ; or नावं सन्नामिवार्णवे, सन्नामिव महाकीर्तिम् , श्रद्धामिव विमानिताम् , प्रज्ञामिव परिक्षीणाम् , आयतीमिव विध्वस्ताम् , दीप्तामिव दिशं काले, पूजामपहृतामिव, वेदीमिव परामृष्टाम् , शान्तामग्निशिखामिव etc. ? Sītā in extreme distress enters the orbit of our vision again and again with deepening pathos in the string of similes woven by a rare master of poesy.

The Mahābhārata is a veritable thesauru for poetic passages of emotional and descriptive quatity of which eighteen have been chosen, e.g. विश्वरूपदर्शनं (६।३३।९-५०), अमृतमन्थनं (१।१५-१९), राजसभायां शकुन्तला (१।६८-६९), सर्वस्वान्तकरं द्यूतं (२।५८-६१, the scintillating dialogue about dice between Yudhishṭhira and Śakuni), दमयन्तीपरित्यागः (३।५५-५९), काम्यकवनप्रवेशः (३।१७९) मत्स्योपाख्यानम् (३।१८५।२-५२), यम-सावित्री संवादः (३।२८१), उत्तर गोग्रहे बृहन्नडा सारथ्यं

(४।३४-३६), विदुलापुत्रानुशासनम् (५।१३१-१३४), गृध्र-जम्बुक संवादः (१२।१४९, a model of ingenious story-making), मृत्यूपाख्यानम् (१२।२४८-७-२५०। ४१, a brilliant conception on the eternal theme of death), गौतमी-लुब्धक-व्याल-मृत्यु-काल संवादः (१३।१।३-८३, which appears to be a Brahmanical counterpart of the Buddist कृशा गौतमी episode framed in a new setting and inspired by a new conception of काल and कर्म doctrines sometime in the Gupta age), etc.

The selections from the 18 Purāṇas are just like demonstrating the quality of the ocean by a few drops. But the passages chosen are of lyrical flash and informed by a human touch ; for example, the मगभोजक ब्राह्मण वृत्तान्त from the Bhavishya (१।३९) is a passage of fundamental historical value deserving reassessment in the light of Indo-Sassanian relationships mentioned therein, even the name of जरथुस्त्र as जरशब्द being adopted. The पंचकालविधानज्ञ bearded sacrificers (यज्विनः) who wore the अव्यङ्ग and who lived in the vicinity of क्षीरोद in शाकद्वीप were the ancient Iranian priests, who were Sun-worshippers and came to this country for the worship and installation of the images of the Sun-god during the Kushāṇa and Gupta ages. Their first great centre was built in the Sun-temple at Mitravana or Multan on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā river (चन्द्रभागातटे चापि मया सूर्यो निवेशितः).

The other Purāṇic selections better invested with humanism and poetic art, include जनकाश्वमेधे याज्ञवल्क्यप्रतिष्ठा (वायु० ६०), a small piece, yet sufficient to mirror the grandeur of an intellectual giant. The देवीस्तव and देवीस्तुति of the Mārkaṇḍeya are well-known, but not so the अग्नि प्रसादन स्तोत्र by a pupil of Bhūti, which is couched in the grand style and synthetic terminology distinctively evolved by the authors of the Purāṇa literature during the period of renaissance (मार्कण्डेय० ९९-१००). The वाराणस्युद्यानवर्णनं of the Matsya is cast in high-flown काव्य style and should be assigned to the Golden Age of Sanskrit literature, giving as it does a model description (वर्णक) of उद्यान motif in the Gupta period. The extreme straits for space to which the compilers of this Anthology were driven can be seen in the Skanda Purāṇa being disposed of in about 50 verses by the small, rather uneven, story of चिरकारि ब्राह्मण. Indeed the Purāṇas demand much more copious compilation to bring out the gems of their kaleidoscopic contents. The present संग्रह, however, is highly welcome as the first of its kind and as providing pleasurable readings for the general lay reader.

V. S. AGRAWALA

पुराणविषयानुक्रमणी, प्रथम भाग (राजनीतिक). Compiled under the editorship of Dr. Rajbali Pandey, Head of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University, 1957; PP. 1—32, 1—482.

The present Volume compiled in Hindi is an alphabetical register of the names of Kings, Queens and other political and historical personages from the eighteen Purāṇas with a summary description of each. This is part of a more comprehensive scheme which will include a similar index of all the social and religious customs, philosophical and literary references as well as references to economic and art subjects, which have been promised in subsequent volumes under the same editor. A parallel part of the same project relates to the compilation of a Geographical Dictonary, including references to cosmography, Indian geography and geography of the Earth, to be completed under the editorship of the present reviewer. The task was approved for financial assistance under the First and the Second Five year Plans, and is naturally a long and tedious one, still to continue for some years more.

The work under review is likely to be of help so far as it goes, but still leaves scope for a single solid and compact Concordance of all the Purāṇic proper-names and subjects on the model of Sörensens' work 'An Index to the Names of the Mahabharata.'

V. S. AGRAWAL

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa, chs. 1—118; critically edited by Dr. (Miss) Priyabālā Shah, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 130.

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa is a stupendous text comprising over 800 chapters divided into three Khaṇḍas or parts. Except the so-called Chitrasūtra portion of the third Part, it has not received the attention it merits as a very comprehensive document of the Bhāgavata culture and the religious and social institutions of the Golden Age of Indian history, *viz.* the Gupta epoch. The complete Purāṇa is a fine meritorious product of classical Sanskrit, and both for its style and cultural documentation deserves a critically edited text. Fotunately some valuable manuscripts are also available both in the Śāradā and Devanāgarī scripts.

Here Dr. Priyabālā Shah has usefully devoted herself to the preparation of a critical text of the well-known Chitrasūtra chapters 1—118 of the third Part. It is prefixed by an Intro-

duction giving details of the critical apparatus, and discussing the date of the work. Her finding about the age of the text is that it is a work of the Gupta period to be placed between 450 A.D. and 650 A.D. This is very nearly correct. Recently Dr.R.C. Hazra has discussed this question in his book on the Upapurāṇas, and he places the original recension of the text betweeṅ 400 and 500 A. D. on the basis of weighty arguments.

The Introduction is followed by the Sanskrit text extending to 118 chapters, comprising Introductory chapters 1-18, Nrittasūtra chs. 20-34. Chitrasutra proper chs. 35-43, Pratimā-lakṣaṇa chs. 44-85 and Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa chs. 86-118. In the end are appended critical notes on special words and readings.

Dr. Shah could utilise only four MSS. for the text, and only after the printing of her work became acquainted with a valuable Śāradā MS. recently purchased for the National Museum, New Delhi, of which the collated readings are given in an Appendix (pp. 359-380) as those of Ms. F. Her Ms.A is deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute [No. 91 of 1875-76] and Ms.C also in the same collection [No. 93 of 1875-76] is specially valuable, being written on birch bark. Besides these two old Śāradā codices, her Ms. B. is written in Devanāgarī and deposited at the Royal Asiatic Society Library Bombay [No, 1758–B. D. 249-250 of Bhau Daji's collection], but was copied in V. S. 1925 only in Kashmir from some very old birch bark Ms. (प्रचुरचिरन्तनाद् भूर्जपत्रपुस्तकात्पुस्तकमिदं लिखितम्).

This edition deals with only a portion of the entire Upapurāṇa and is welcome as the first draft of a future edition to be based on the fuller material deposited in other libraries, e. g. the ones at Jammu (Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 21), Dacca Uni. (Ms. No. 4669) and specially the one in Nepal, which was noticed by H. P. Shastri. An intriguing question relates to the original extent of the third Khaṇḍa. Ms. A in Śāradā has 118 chs. only and the Nepal Ms. only 120 chs. according to H. P. Shastri (Notices, II, pp. 164-172, No. 190) and 100 as per list of contents prepared by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar after a visit to Nepal, which is printed by Dr. Shah on pp. 379-80. A comparative study of the contents of these two is desirable and should be possible some day. The evidence of the other two Śāradā MSS., viz. the birch bark Ms. of the BORI (Ms.C of the edn.) and the Ms. of the National Museum (Ms. F of the edn.) approximate the printed Bombay edition in the

1. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 155—212, giving a detailed description of the contents and a comparative study of the up Purāṇas.

number of the chapters of the third Khaṇḍa. The longer text of about 350 chs. is clearly divided into three major portions, viz. Chitrasūtra chs. 1-118, Vratakāṇḍa chs. 126-225 and Haṁsagītā chs- 226-342 (a discourse between Vishṇu as Haṁsa and the Ṛishis). The last two, specially the Vratakāṇḍa has a characteristic individual character and seems to have floated into the text from the common encyclopædic pool of Purāṇic contents which were availed of freely by the redactors.

The present text offers a problem relating to the interpretation of technical sciences. A tentative English rendering was offered by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, which was much improved upon by Dr. Coomaraswamy so far as the nine chapters on Painting were concerned. We are glad to note that Dr. Priyabālā Shah proposes to follow the text edn. by a second volume containing critical discussion and interpretation of various topics covered by the text. The General Editor, Dr. B. J. Sandesra, promises that it will soon go to the Press. We hope that an alphabetical Index of new and difficult Sanskrit words will be added.

V. S. AGRAWALA

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The '*Purāṇa*' Bulletin has been started by the Purāṇa Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the aim of organising the manifold studies relating to the Purāṇas. It will specially discuss the several aspects of text-reconstruction, of the interpretation of the vast cultural and historical material, and, above all, of the obscure esoteric symbolism of the Purāṇas. The Purāṇic myths and legends serve as the external sheath of mystical meanings. Their religious symbolism is an important subject, the value of which is being gradually recognised. All over the world the understanding of symbolism is opening for the modern mind the blocked doors of religious thought and tradition. The Purāṇas communicate to us the Indian version of that tradition with exceptional richness and in perfect preservation. The '*Purāṇa*' Bulletin is intended to serve as the forum of Purāṇic research in all its bearings both in the light of traditional thought and modern ideas. The Editors invite contributions from all those who are interested in the culture of the Purāṇa literature, and above all in the religion and philosophy of the Vedas, which has found the fullest expression in the Purāṇas.

Announcement

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has decided to give a Cash Prize of five hundred rupees per year for a Competition Essay on the life and works of Maharshi Vyāsa.

The subject for the first Essay is 'Life of Vyāsa according to the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata'.

The Essay should comprise about 10,000 words and may be written in English or Sanskrit.

It should be submitted to the General Secretary, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi.

The time-limit fixed for submitting this Essay was announced as the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā Day (July 8, 1960), but is now extended, on the request of some scholars, up to December 31, 1960